Sufism and Sufi Orders: God's Spiritual Paths
Adaptation and Renewal
in the Context of Modernization

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Contents

Introduction

Jordan's evolution, cultural narrative and religious history have been an inseparable part of the historical, intellectual and ideological development of both the Arab and the Islamic worlds. As a country, Jordan has been burdened by the same set of circumstances and conditions that affected other Arab and Islamic countries; and, historically, it was subjected to the same set of circumstances and conditions these other countries were during the formation of its national identity.

Sufism is considered to be one of the components that constitute the Jordanian identity, as it is one of the major spiritual manifestations of Islam. This is especially the case as Sufism represents a current that intersects with the tenets and the fundamentals embraced by all religions. Certainly, it is a practice that has imprinted itself on the folds of human experience.

During the earlier period of Islam's inception, Sufism emerged as a spiritual revolution which aimed at reforming the *nafs*[1] *(the appetitive soul, corporeal self),* disciplining it and purifying it[2] of its vices and imbuing it with virtues in order to attain complete *iman* (faith) and the rank of *ihsan*[3], and working towards the spiritual requirements of the Hereafter. It was a religious movement whose legitimacy was grounded in its religiosity and in its derivation from the fundamental and founding Islamic references, the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunna[4], which call for *zuhd*[5] (asceticism) in the corporeal world, piety in one's devotion to God and salvation in His worship.

The circumstances surrounding the birth of Sufism were not merely religious but rather included certain political, social and cultural factors. Historically, Sufism would evolve within an environment rife with the chaos, discord, strife and internal wars suffered by *dar al-Islam*[6] in its earlier periods. The prevailing state of affairs led to spiritual crises, social injustices and obscene disparities in wealth between classes which, in turn, inspired individuals to seek out the development and the nurturing of a spirit of piety and asceticism.

Thus, in its infancy, or at the turn of the 7th century AD, Islamic Sufism would emerge as a phenomenon characterized by an individual, unique and elitist nature. It would later evolve into a more popular, social manifestation in the 11th century AD with Sufi *turuq* (orders) taking root amongst the masses during the 17th century AD, or during the reign of the Ottoman state, which internalized and adopted Sufism ideologically. Indeed, it would never have been possible for Sufism to flourish the way it did without the support and patronage of the governing authorities, and the reign and stability of the ruling elite could not have been maintained and preserved without the support of Sufism, with a formula of "loyalty/patronage" generally governing the relationship between the two sides. However, during different periods in history, this formula was not always sustainable and the political conduct of Sufi orders would fluctuate between postures of opposition and of loyalty. Nevertheless, and despite these political fluctuations, Sufism would never become embroiled in conflict or take on a tradition of confrontation with the ruling authorities.

As was the case with all the other areas in the Arab and Islamic worlds, Jordan would also experience the widespread proliferation of Sufi orders and Sufi *zawaya*[7]. Indeed, the fluidity and freedom of movement during the reign of the Ottoman state allowed for different Sufi groups and practicing Sufi families to move from area to area, with many of these from Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Anatolia settling in Jordan, including the Rifa'i, Zughbi, 'Amri, Rababa'a, Mustarihi, Mulqawi, Samadi, Kilani and Ja'aifirah groups and families, amongst others.

With the advent of the 19th century AD, a certain religiosity and religious patterns took root amongst the popular masses in Jordan, which would evolve in the context of the transformations which were affecting the region and the religion of Islam. These transformations were partially brought forth by the many literal, interpretive, traditional and normative readings that prevailed with regard to religion, at that time, and were exacerbated by the disintegration of the Ottoman state and its subsequent collapse. This state of affairs was followed by the rise of the colonialist era, which further contributed to the weakening of traditional structures in Arab and Islamic societies. Finally, with the emergence of the modern nation-state, traditional structures would continue to suffer a lengthy and extensive dismantling process under the impact of modernization policies.

When the Emirate of Jordan was established in 1921 by Prince Abdullah Bin Hussein (later King Abdullah I), the state continued the process of neutralizing traditional and religious structures and institutions, despite the fact that Prince Abdullah belonged to the (Hashemite) lineage of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him [PBUH]). Indeed, the prince chose to adopt a liberal, nationalist ideology for the new emirate based on modern and secular principles. Subsequently, the state would focus its efforts on acquiring exclusive jurisdiction over religion, and neutralized traditional religious institutions by establishing the Ministry of Awqaf (Religious Endowments) and Religious Affairs, a formal, state-run *fatwa*[8] institution (Dar al-Ifta[9]) and the Department of the Supreme (Islamic) Justice. And, despite the fact that Islam was designated as the official religion of the state, it was considered to be only one facet of the collective Jordanian identity and not the central axis of either the national identity or the state. Finally, in line with this strategy, the majority of official religious posts were held by persons who displayed moderate Sufi tendencies of a particularly centrist socio-religious nature.

During the period in which the emirate was established, religious Islamic movements in Jordan were not organized. Up until the era of independence, Sufi orders and popular forms of Sufi religiosity dominated the religious scene, with other Islamic movements and groups beginning to emerge only later as branches of other groups already established outside the boundaries of the Hashemite Kingdom. In 1946, Jordan would witness the first formation of an organized Islamic movement with the declaration of the establishment of the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood. The establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood was followed in 1952 by the establishment of *Hizb ut-Tahrir* (the Islamic Party of Liberation)[10] followed, in 1964, by *Jamaa'at al-Da'wa*[11] *wal Tabligh*[12], a group that historically belongs to a school of Sufism that prevailed in and hailed from the Indian Subcontinent. In the beginning of the 1980s, Jordan would also witness the birth of Traditional Salafism and later, in the early 1990s, the emergence of Jihadi-Salafism[13].

Meanwhile, Sufi orders in Jordan were to face profound pressures, challenges and difficulties in maintaining their identity and presence in Jordan due to modernizations policies, on the one hand, and competition posed by the rise and spread of Islamist *da'wa*, political and Jihadi movements, on the other. Sufism was subjected to a widespread smear campaign and heinous accusations that attributed the vices of ignorance, superstition, heresy, stagnation and backwardness to that doctrine. In addition to the latter, Sufis were also accused of toting the banner of loyalty to the colonialists or imperialists.

Nonetheless and in general, Sufism has proven that it is capable of adapting, resisting and renewing itself. It has proven its ability to survive and endure. And, it has defied modernist expectations that Sufism would find its demise in the modern world, and that it would become extinct as a manifestation of the traditional, magical, mystical and fantastical world. Instead, the vast majority of rational milieus, communities and societies in a world infused by modernity and secularism have witnessed a return to the sacred religious, individually and collectively, as a counter reaction to

the tyranny of the technology culture and all that this civilization has spawned in terms of materialistic values and consumption patterns, as well as the loss of symbolic systems associated with the ability to provide meaning to human existence. Indeed, certain post-modernist currents have emerged that embrace the imagination and meaning, and have proven that Sufism was, and still is, capable of providing answers to the relativity of modern values, objectification, and the manner in which the modern world has enslaved man in the wake of globalization.

There are no exceptions in the Arab, Islamic and Jordanian realities when it comes to the rise of religious movements. Political Islamist movements began to emerge with strength during the decade of the 1980s, forming a threat to governing political regimes across the Arab and Islamic worlds. Indeed, it was within this general context that the Jordanian state began to support and to encourage popular Sufi religiosity in a political and an ideological bid to confront and curb the rise of the more fundamentalist movements, with the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Jihadi Salafist movements at the fore. This support was evidenced in a proposition to establish a higher council for Sufism in Jordan, which was meant to include all the Sufi orders under one umbrella. However, this initiative would not succeed for numerous reasons, the most important of which were the ongoing conflicts between the sheikhs[14] of the different Sufi orders and the differences of opinion on what the nature of the council would be, including its role, its function, its leadership and its relationship with the state.

Following the attacks of September 11, 2001 and within the framework of its “war on terrorism”, the United States of America would focus efforts on encouraging a return to and an adoption of Islamic Sufi tendencies. Indeed, the events of September 11 had exposed the complicity of the violent Jihadi-Salafist ideology in the attacks. Subsequently, the United States would adopt a policy of supporting and encouraging the building of “moderate Islamic networks” in an attempt to universalize the model of tolerant Islamic

Sufism in the confrontation against extremism and the violence associated with extremist ideologies. Unfortunately, these policies were relatively damaging to Sufism and Sufi tendencies, which lost a part of their appeal. Meanwhile, in Jordan, Sufi orders would condemn fanaticism, violence and extremism and would ally with the state when it came to national issues and national policy, in general.

Perhaps the most important challenge that the Sufi orders in Jordan have faced and will face is represented in their ability, or inability, to synchronize between their tradition and the realities of the modern world. Some of these orders insist on adhering to the legacy of their ritualistic and ceremonial traditions, whereas others have taken it upon themselves to adopt a more innovative and open approach to modernity, including establishing scientific, academic and information-based institutions in a manner similar to the Turkish Sufi model and approach. However, to date, none of the Sufi orders in Jordan has developed a strategy for engaging or participating in political life, or for establishing political parties specific to their orders, as their counterparts have done in numerous other Arab and Islamic countries.

In this study, we shall introduce and identify the Sufi orders and *zawayas* prevalent in Jordan, such as the Qadiri, Rifa'i, Shadhili, Khalwati, Naqshbandi and Tijani Orders, as well as their offshoots. We shall examine the historical evolution, the expansion and the sheikhs of these orders. And, we will identify and define their doctrines and origins, as well as the extent to which they have been able to adapt, resist and renew themselves within the context of the modernization process that have affected both state and society.

At this point, I would like to thank the sheikhs of the Sufi orders who were so gracious with the time they allotted to this project and to myself, and who cooperated so generously during my research into their archives and their activities. I would also like to extend my gratitude to a dear friend and researcher, Wael al-Batiri, who

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Springs of Origin, Emergence and Foundation

Numerous past and present accounts, ambiguities and doubts have been raised about the springs of origin of Islamic Sufism, about how it emerged, how it was established and what were the resources and roots of its birth and of its historical and religious evolution. If we acknowledge that Islamic Sufism is based on the principle of *zuhd* (asceticism)[15] as the entry point to the framework within which Sufism functions, we can clearly discern the role of the Islamic references of the Holy Qur'an and of the Prophet's Sunna in the emergence and evolution of Islamic Sufism. This acknowledgement, however, does not negate the rule of cause and effect in the path that Sufism has taken in its evolution and in its *ijtihad*[16].

The Holy Qur'an is replete with verses exhorting asceticism in this corporeal world, praising the Hereafter and urging a life persistent in its devotion and piety, as it impresses upon the need to shun and abandon hypocrisy, debauchery and immorality. Indeed, al-Tusi[17] affirms the latter when he urges Sufism and Sufis to confine themselves to following the Book of God Almighty (the Holy Qur'an), to emulating the Prophet (PBUH and His Family) and the moral tradition of the *sahaba*[18] and the *tabi'in*[19], and to observing the proper conduct befitting a righteous servant of God.[20]

Ibn Khaldun[21] (d. 808 AH/1406 AD) stresses upon the close link between Sufism and its Islamic references, saying, "Sufism is one of the latter-day sciences of the Law in the Islamic Community (*milla*). The foundation of Sufism, however, is (more ancient, as

seen in the fact) that these folk and their way have always been present among the Righteous Predecessors (*salaf*[22]) and amongst the most senior of the Companions (*sahaba*) and the Successors (*tabi'in*), and their way is the way of truth and guidance. The foundation of the way of the Sufis is self-restraint in the corporeal world (or *dunya*[23]) and utter dependence on God; shunning of the adornments and beauty of the corporeal world; self-deprivation of pleasure, money, and title in the manner agreed upon by the vast majority of scholars; and isolation from creatures in seclusion and devotion to worship. All these character traits were widespread among the Companions and the Righteous Predecessors, but with the pervasiveness of worldliness in the 2nd century and the next, and the general inclination of the people towards the world, those who remained attached to worship became known under the name of Sufis"[24].

Indeed, Sufi references regarding the link between Sufism and the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunna exist in abundance. For, in addition to the afore-mentioned, according to Dhul-Nun al-Misri[25], "One of the signs of the lover of God is his following in the footsteps of God's beloved [that is, the Prophet Muhammad] – may God bless and greet him – in his character traits, his deeds, his precepts and his customs"[26]. And, al-Junayd[27] stresses upon the same when he says, "All paths are closed for God's creatures except for those who follow in the footsteps of the Prophet – May peace and blessings be upon him"[28].

The vast majority of modern orientalists also stress upon the Islamic roots of Islamic Sufism, such as French orientalist Louis Massignon in his book, "Essays on the Origins of the Technical Language of Islamic Mysticism", and Reynold Nicholson in his later research, as well as Arthur John Arberry, Annemarie Schimmel and Alexander Knysh. Here, we find an almost unanimous consensus amongst modern orientalists that Islamic Sufism enjoys an authenticity that is intrinsically linked to the religion of Islam, albeit this link does not negate the fact that certain influences on Sufism came from different cultures, which were contemporaneous to the

evolution of historical Islam. This fact is recognized and endorsed by Dr Abu al-Wafa' al-Taftazani (professor, Cairo University) who takes an objective stand on the issue of the authenticity of Sufism's Islamic character and the external influences that affected Sufism when he says, "It is scientifically fair to claim that Sufi doctrines and scholarship in practical sciences and mathematics are referenced in Islam. Of course, with the passage of time and by virtue of the convergence of nations and contact between civilizations, some forms of Christian and non-Christian influences spilled over to it. However, certain orientalists have inaccurately come to the conclusion that the first elements adopted by Sufis came from Christianity"[29].

Influenced by the prevailing notion of the centrality of Europe, the first generation of orientalists who emerged in the 18th and 20th centuries went as far as to claim that Islamic Sufism originated from foreign (non-Islamic) sources. Some of these orientalists – such as Dulac, Dozy, Palmer, Horton, Hartmann and Zanier, amongst others – attributed the origins of Sufism to Aryan-Hindu religions or Hindu-Persian origins. The latter inferences were made by these orientalists in light of certain similarities found between the Hindu concept of "oneness and unicity", or the oneness of creation and the one ultimate reality, which is embodied by the Divine One and the principle of the one supreme Absolute (called "Brahman" by the Hindus) and the ideas held by certain Sufis who were adherents of the *wihda* or monist school. Others, such as O'Leary, Nicholson and Brown, went as far as to claim that Islamic Sufism was derived of Greek origins, particularly the philosophy of Neo-platonism, in light of the great similarities found between the Neo-platonist philosophy and the ideas held by certain Sufis who advocated the notions of "the One" and "the Word" (Logos[30]), and believed that *fayd* (self-revelation; or emanation), the origins of the world and the ranks of the universe are all derived of the "One". Goldziher, von Kremer, Dozy and Asín Palacios, O'Leary, Nicholson, Tor Andre and others lent weight to the notion that Sufism had Christian roots, or origins in other religious cultures such as Judaism, amongst others, in light of the parallels found

between the idea of Divine Love that emerged amongst early Muslim Sufis and similar Christian notions, and in light of Sufi dictums that called for a life of asceticism, austerity and pious devotion, similar to the dictums and doctrines followed by Christian monks[31].

What is certain is that Islamic Sufism represents a spiritual revolution; and, those who study Islamic Sufism stress that it is the spiritual dimension of the religion of Islam. Thus, Muhammad Mustafa Hilmi entitled his book on Sufism, *"al-hayatu al-ruhiyah fi al-islam"* ("Spiritual Life in Islam")[32], and Abu 'Ala Afifi entitled his book, "*al-tassawuf: al-thawra al-ruhiyah fi al-islam*" (lit., "Sufism: The Spiritual Revolution in Islam")[33], and renowned German scholar, Annemarie Schimmel, entitled her book on Sufism, "Mystical Dimensions of Islam"[34].

It can be argued that Islamic Sufism represents an important historical phenomenon manifested throughout the course of Islamic history, which embodied a spiritual movement that would continue and persist over centuries. In fact, this spiritual movement began in the 1st century AH with its first groups of worshippers and ascetics (*zuhud* or *zuhad*) including figures such as al-Hassan al-Basri[35] (Hassan of Basra) (d.110 AH/728 AD), amongst others. It would develop and evolve in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AH, as gnosis and experience in the doctrine of Divine Love became more profound with the likes of Rabi'a al `Adawiyya al-Basriyya[36] (d.185 AH/801 AD), and with the evolution of the notion of *fana'* (the mystic's self-annihilation in God) and *baqa'* (the mystic's subsistence/survival in God following *fana')*[37] with the likes of al-Junayd (d. 298 AH/910 AD). It would reach its definitive point with the tragedy of (al-Husayn Ibn Mansur) al-Hallaj[38] (d. 309 AH/922 AD) – a tragedy which represented the ultimate manifestation of the tensions and the culmination of the confrontation between the Sufi movement of the *fuqara* (the poor) and the world of the *mutakalmeen* (lit. "the orators" and referred to, in English, as "the theologists") in Islamic history.

After the latter period, Sufism would progress forward on two paths: The first was known as Sunni Sufism in the 4th and 5th centuries AH and beyond, where the leading scholars of this movement, such as Abi Hamed Muhammad al-Ghazali[39] (d.505 AH/1111 AD) and others, sought to find a convincing formula for reconciling the knowledge of the inner self and the spirit of Sufism with Islamic law in its manifest form. This particular current produced great and renowned Sufi works such as "*al-risaalatul al-qushayri fi 'ilim al-tassawuf*" **("The Qushayri Epistle on Sufism", sometimes also known as "The Qushayri Treatise" or "The Qushayri** *Risala"***)** by Imam[40] Abu 'l Qasim 'Abd al-Karim Bin Hawazin al-Qushayri[41] (d. 465 AH/1072 AD) and "*ihya 'ulum ad-din"* **("The Revival of Religious Sciences") by al-Ghazali, which is considered the pinnacle work of Sunni Sufism. The second path was philosophical and delved deeply into areas which were more theoretical, as represented by its leading scholars of the school of** *wihdat al-wujud* **(with** *wihdat al-wujud* **meaning the transcendent Unity of Existence [of God]; or Oneness of Being) in the 6th and 7th centuries AH and beyond, such as** Muhyi al-Din Ibn 'Arabi[42] (d.638 AH/1240 AD), amongst others. Ibn 'Arabi and other scholars of this second path sought to find a formula which would reconcile Sufism with what is called the "inner and esoteric meaning and spirit of Islamic *shari'a (***or law)**" in its profound sense, and in its higher meaning. Indeed, the scholars of this school produced great and profound Sufi works replete with unique and exceptional philosophical theories. Finally, from the 6th century AH, or 12th century AD, onwards, the Sufi movement would evolve and expand into what are today recognized in the representation of Sufi *turuq* **or orders, which continue to flourish and spread throughout the Arab and Islamic worlds until this very day**[43].

Etymology and Origins of the Name, Terms and Definitions

A considerable debate exists around the lexical roots and etymology of the word "*tasawwuf*" (Sufism) and its many derivatives in Arabic, such as "*sufi*" (Sufi); "*mutasawwuf*" (the one who professes and practices Sufism); "*sufiyya*" (plural form, Sufis); as well as the collective form of Sufis or, "*mutasawwufa*; the verb "*tasawwaf(a)*" (to become or be Sufi), and the infinitive form, or verbal noun, "*tasawwuf*" (the act of being Sufi). Indeed, opinions have differed and diverged, however both ancient and modern scholars have arrived at a consensus that the word, or term, "*sufi*", is the lexical derivative of the root of the Arabic word "wool" (or, "s-ü-f"). For, it is the only derivative that is linguistically possible for the word *"suf*" – or the relational adjective in Arabic, "s-ü-f-ee", meaning "the woolen" or "the one wearing wool", or the verb "*tasawwaf(a)*" (wore wool) and the word "*tassawuf*" (infinitive form, or verbal noun; i.e. the act of wearing wool, or to be woolen).

Furthermore, there are numerous accounts in this regard which prove that, since the beginning of the 2nd century AH, wool, or wearing wool, became the characteristic mark of the first ascetics and adherents, used to distinguish them and set them apart from the life of luxury and extravagance which had become endemic amongst the princes and the rich. Added to the latter are many Sufi narratives which ascribe the wearing of wool to the profits and the pious.

Other Sufi scholars offer a different etymology for the term "*sufiyya"*, contending that the root of the word "*sufi*" is a derivative of the Arabic root word, "*safa"* (noun: purity), or its verbal form, "*yasfou"* (to purify, purge), or the adjective of the root word "*safa"*, which is "*safa-an"* (marked by purity, pure or marked by clarity, clear). These scholars argue that it is from these derivatives that the phrase "*sufi qalbahou*" or "his heart was purged" (of all sins and vices) is attributed. For, the Sufi is the one who has been cleansed by God, and whose heart and inner self has been purified or purged by God; thus, he/she is a "Sufi" or, one who has been purged, purified.

Others claim that the word is a derivative of the phrase "*ahl al-suffa*", which is attributed to a "group of people" or "*ahl*", made up of poor immigrants and souls, for whom a "*suffa*" (shaded place/ corner) was built next to the Prophet Muhammad's mosque in al-Medina; thus, showing the Prophet's praise, special heed and love for them. Thus, "*ahl al-tasawwuf"* (the people of *Sufism*) are ascribed as belonging to, or are seen as an extension of this first group of poor people and ascetics that the Prophet asked to be cared for and commanded that their affairs be tended to.

Finally, there are those who claim that the term "sufi" is a derivative of the word "*saf"* (meaning row or rank), signifying that they (the Sufis) were of the first rank before God. Others claim that it is a derivative of the Greek word "sofos", meaning "the wise" (or *hakim* in Arabic) or of "wisdom" (*hikma*), as Sufis view themselves as representing "*ahl-al hikma wal khibra"* or "the wise and knowledgeable people" as they sought and possessed knowledge of "the Truth". However, the argument contending for the latter derivative is quite weak as the Greek word "sofos" is arabized and spelled, for the most part, by Muslim philosophers as "suphos/sufus" and not "suphie/sufi".[44]

As for the definition of Sufism, there are many ancient and modern definitions, which would be difficult to enumerate in the scope of this study. However, most are similar in substance. According to

Abu al-Wafa' al-Ghanimi al-Taftazani, "Sufism is a life philosophy that aims at advancing the human self (*nafs*) morally. It is achieved by means of specific practical, spiritual exercises which, at times, will lead to the feeling of *fana'*, or self-annihilation, harmony and unification with the Higher Truth (God); and, knowledge of this Higher Truth (God) is attained through sensory experience and not the intellect, or the rational mind. Its fruit is spiritual happiness and it is difficult to express its truths with words of ordinary language because it is of an existential, subjective nature"[45].

The latter definition covers the most important elements of Islamic Sufism, such as moral advancement, *fana'* or self-annihilation or dissolution with the Supreme or Higher Truth, *ma'rifa* or gnosis emanating from direct, instantaneous sensory experience, and the feeling of tranquility, well-being and spiritual happiness, as well as the symbolisms manifested by Sufi expression, revealing its essential nature. Also, according to al-Taftazani, "The analytical view of Sufism reveals to us that despite their differences, Sufis envision seeking a way, a path of conduct towards God, which begins with engaging the self, morally. Seekers of this journey, or this way, progress through several stages defined by them as *maqamat* (spiritual station on the Sufi path) and *ahwal* (spiritual states which the mystic experiences on his way to God) and one concludes one's *maqamat* and *ahwal* with *ma'rifa* or gnosis in the Divine, or of God; and, this is the end of the path, the journey. Sufis mean by *maqam*, the station in the journey of ascension in which the believer, the adherent and servant of God stands before God and places himself in the hands of God and, in which the adherent and servant of God performs acts of worship, toils strenuously and maintains his spiritual exercises and practices. Examples of *maqamat* for the Sufis include repentance, asceticism, piety in devotion, poverty, patience, contentment and trust in God, and so forth. As for *ahwal*, these represent the states of infusion of the heart or, when the heart is overcome by purity, by praise and extolment of God. Of the examples of *ahwal* for the Sufis include the state of *muraqaba*[46], of being close to God, of love, of fear, of pleading, of desire, of intimacy, of tranquility and of well-being, of seeing, of certitude and of conviction, and so forth"[47].

Other forms of comparable definitions for Sufism are expressed in various Sufi works and treatises, all of which clearly expound upon a similar conceptual understanding of Sufism, the essence of Sufism and its signification for its adherents. Abu al-Qasim al-Nasr-'Abadi (d. 367 AH/977 AD) says, "Sufism is an illumination of truth leading to the Truth; and, a fraction of it points to the Truth [to Him]. Sufism is your *fana'* (self-annihilation; dissolution) from the two worlds, with only the Creator of both remaining and permanent"[48].

Sheikh al-Islam[49] Zacharia al-Ansari[50] (d. 926 AH/1520 AD) says the following when he defines Sufism, "It is a science defined by the spiritual states or *ahwal* leading to the purification of appetitive souls, corporeal selves; of moral and ethical cleansing; and, of constructing the external and the internal in the quest to achieve eternal happiness. Its subject is the aforementioned purification, cleansing and construction. Its aim is achieving eternal happiness. And, its essence is in the intentions and esoteric meanings referred to by its books. This knowledge is a science inherited from the result of toil and labor, referred to by the truism: *The one who toils and labors at that which he knows will inherit from God knowledge of that which he knows not*"[51].

Imam al-Sha'rani[52] (d. 973 AD/1565 AD) says, "Know my brother, that God blessed you, and that the science of Sufism is a science that penetrated the hearts of the elders who were enlightened by their labors in the Good Book and in the Sunna. And, those who labor in these works are penetrated by sciences, literature, secrets and truths of which tongues cannot speak"[53].

The question of the origins, roots and references of Islamic Sufism has been a controversial subject that has occupied both ancient and modern Islamic jurists (*fuqaha'*) and scholars. In the field of Islamic studies and scholarship, one will find those who support and defend Sufism, considering it one of the manifestations of the spiritual expressions of Islam. Alternatively, there are those who oppose Sufism, with some of this adversary to Sufism reaching the point of *takfir*[54], and of disavowing or apostasizing it and its adherents.

Its proponents attest to the authenticity of its Islamic origins and affirm its references are in the Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunna. The earlier advocates of Sufism include the great Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 505 AH/1111 AD), along with other scholars and authors of great Sufi works such as Abu Nasr al-Sarraj al-Tusi (d. 378 AH/988 AD) and Abu 'l Qasim 'Abd al-Karim al-Qushayri (d. 465 AH/1072 AD), amongst others. Of the later Islamic scholars and ardent proponents of Sufism include Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 911 AH/1505 AD) and Zacharia al-Ansari (d. 926 AH/1520 AD), the likes of whom are many. Modern scholars and proponents of Sufism abound, such as Mustafa 'Abd al-Razzaq (d. 1947), Abu 'Ala Afifi (d. 1964), Muhammad Mustafa Hilmi (d. 1969), Abu al-Wafa' al-Taftazani (d. 1995) and 'Abd al-Rahman Badawi (d. 2002). All these scholars and advocates consider Sufism as being an authentic form and manifestation of Islam, which was nevertheless affected by certain influences from different milieus – as were all the other forms of Islamic sciences and scholarship[55].

On the other hand, the most prominent scholars to oppose and remained adverse to Sufism include Jamal al-Din Abul Farraj Bin al-Jawzi (d. 597 AH /1200 AD) and Muhammad Bin 'Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1206 AH/1792 AD)[56]. Meanwhile, certain critics of Sufism, such as Taqiddin Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728 AH/1328 AD), took a more balanced stance in their criticism and made distinctions between the different forms of Sufism. For example, Ibn Taymiyya, after affirming the genuine Islamic roots of the ascetic worship and moral discipline of Sufism, says, "*Sufiyyat al-haqa'iq*: the Sufis of Realities, and these are the ones we mentioned above; *sufiyyat al-arzaq*: the funded Sufis who live on the religious endowments of Sufi guest-houses and schools; it is not necessary for them to be among the people of true realities, as this is a very rare thing; and, *sufiyyat al-rasm*: the Sufis by appearance only, who are interested in bearing the name and the dress etc.[57]

Causes, Motivations and Inspirations

Religion was a decisive factor in the birth of Islamic Sufism, which itself is rooted in the fundamental Islamic references of the Qur'an and the Sunna. The first seeds of Sufism emerged amongst the *sahaba* (the Companions of the Prophet) and manifested itself in the form of a current that practiced strict *zuhd* or asceticism, austerity, worship and piety. The causes and inspirations for its more widespread emergence were then reinforced and bolstered by a series of political, social and cultural factors.

The conditions and circumstances under which early Islam existed were marked by political chaos, power struggles, internal strife and inner wars. The combination of these factors created a general state of spiritual anxiety, an increasing sense of social injustice and a growing gap of inequity between the extremely rich and the destitute, all of which nurtured the rise of an ascetic current in society. According to Nicholson, numerous factors led to the rise of Sufism, for the suffering of Muslims under the tyranny and the oppression of their rulers motivated and inspired a movement towards asceticism as a form of protest and as an instrument in a spiritual revolution against the prevailing authorities[58]. With this, and from its earliest stages, the course of the evolution of Sufism took on the form and character of a spiritual movement based on ascetic worship, piety and moral discipline.

This movement would gain strength and momentum due to the prevailing socio-political conditions that marked early Islam. At first, it was seen as an individual choice in seeking self-reform as

a first step to paving the way for reforming a society burdened by the aggressive and arbitrary rule of its governing authorities. It was also seen as an expression of the need to return to the original form of Islam in its fundamental virtues and righteous values.

The asceticism that represented the fundamental prelude to the rise of Sufism was characterized by isolation and seclusion, a disconnection from people and from reliance on the corporeal and the worldly, with a focus on attending to God and the requirements of the Hereafter. With this, a class of ascetics would crystallize and spread throughout Islamic society. This class would later evolve into an organized movement in Basra, Kufa, Damascus (known also as "*al-Sham"*) and Nishapur, with the most renowned of its first generation including the likes of Dawud al-Ta'I (d.165 AD/781 AD), Sufyan al-Thawri (d. 161 AH/777 AD), al-Hassan al-Basri (d.111 AH/720 AD), 'Abd al-Wahad Bin Zayd (d. 177 AH/793 AD) and Rabi'a al `Adawiyya (d. 185 AH/801 AD), amongst others[59]. From its earliest days, this movement would take a strong stand against the prevailing politics and the corruption of a society oppressed. At first, its call for reform was based on withdrawing and isolating oneself from society and from people in the hope of bringing purity and serenity back to the anxious self and to anxious souls.

According to Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 388 AH/996 AD), "The first stage of *zuhd* (asceticism) is for anguish of the Hereafter to enter the heart... But, anguish of the Hereafter cannot enter the heart until the concerns and burdens of the corporeal world are expelled from it"[60]. Indeed, the tradition of *zuhd* (asceticism) and *khalwa* (seclusion) of the early ascetics went to the extent of concealing oneself from the unbelievers (*kuffar*) and, in some instances, to living in caves and in cemeteries, as was the case with certain Sufis such as Ibrahim Bin Adham (d. 161 AH/788 AD)[61].

This path of *zuhd* (asceticism) amongst Sufis would take on a more holistic and mature form as it evolved into a paradigm of spiritual exercises and practices seen as the requirements to

seeking and attaining the ultimate goal of *ma'rifa*[62]*,* or gnosis (in the Divine). When Abu Yazid al-Bustami was asked, "By what means did you attain *ma'rifa*?" He replied, "Through a hungry stomach and a bare body"[63]. And, Leader of the Sect ["S*ayyed al-Ta'ifa"*] or Diadem of Knowers, as al-Junayd al-Baghdadi (d. 293 AH/910 AD) was otherwise known, was quoted as saying, "We did not learn (lit. take) Sufism by discourse, rather by hunger, abandoning the world, and severing [one's attachments to] familiar and pleasant things; since Sufism consists of purity of [one's] relationship with God. Its foundation is in turning away from the world, as Harith [al-Muhasibi] said, 'My self (*nafs*) has turned away from the world; so I have spent my nights in wakefulness and my days in thirst'"[64]

If asceticism was one of the most important elements in the initiation of early Sufism, further components were later added to its conceptual paradigm until it became a school founded upon several cornerstones. According to Nicholson, "The earliest Sufis were, in fact, [humble] ascetics and quietists rather than mystics [Sufis]"[65]. And, Dr. 'Abd al-Halim Mahmud says, "Asceticism in the world is one thing, and Sufism is another. A Sufi does not necessarily have to be an ascetic, and Sufism is not necessarily asceticism"[66]. Dr. Souad al-Hakim affirms the latter when she says, "The beginning was not – as some scholars believe – in asceticism. Asceticism is the outcome of a psychological life and thus, is manifested in states of existence, which are the best expression of the worshipper's sense and realization of the Divine Presence"[67]. Ibn al-Jawzi also cautions of making these links, saying, "The Sufis are generally of the ascetics; but, we have already mentioned the devil's deception of the ascetics. The Sufis diverged from the ascetics by having specific qualities and states and they became characterized by certain traits. Hence, we were compelled to single them out in reference"[68].

Akhlaq (a person's character traits, especially his or her manners and morals)[69] also represents one of the more important concerns and components of Sufism, as it also carries great weight and importance in the Islamic references of the Qur'an and the Sunna.

Indeed, the Qur'anic verse, "*and, indeed, you are of a great moral character*"[70], is clear in its guidance; and, it is a verse attributed decisively to the kind of character, comportment and conduct evidenced in the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). It is also recorded[71] in the Sunna that the Prophet (PBUH) said, "Indeed I was only sent to complete the most noble character traits"[72]

For the Sufis, the righteousness and excellence of one's *akhlaq* – or character traits, manners and morals – cannot be achieved without abandoning immoral behavior, vices and deplorable traits, and without adhering to good virtues and the most excellent of *adab* (or, propriety and good manners). For, *adab*, or propriety and good manners, are the cornerstone of everything, as Hafs al-Nisaburi (d. 270 AH) says, "Sufism is all good manners and propriety. And, every time has its good manners and propriety, and every place its good manners and propriety. Those who adhere to the good manners and propriety of the times shall attain the highest place amongst men, and those who lose sight of their good manners and propriety shall find themselves far from what they think is near, and turned away from the places in which they wish to be admitted"[73]. According to Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Qassab (d. 275 AH), who was also al-Junayd's master and teacher, "Sufism consists of noble conduct that is made manifest at a noble moment on the part of a noble person among a noble folk"[74]. Abu Muhammad al-Jariri (d. 311 AH) affirms this, saying that, "Sufism is departure from base character and arrival at lofty character"[75]. And, al-Hujwiri[76] attributes a saying to Imam Muhammad al-Baqir (d. 113 or 117 AH), which states, "Sufism is but good morals; whoever surpasses you in good morals surpasses you in purity"[77]. Abu 'l-Husayn al-Nuri[78] (d. 295 AH/907 AD) transcends the cognitive dimension of Sufism and attributes its derivation to a moral dimension when he says, "Sufism is neither formalized practices nor acquired sciences, rather it is ethical and moral conduct"[79]. And, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751 AH/1650 AD) reaffirms that *akhlaq*, or character traits, manners and morals, represents the essence of Sufism, saying "The words of all the speakers in this world have united: Sufism is *kholq* (noble and moral comportment and character)"[80].

This view would become more universal after the 3rd century AH, as the *nafs* or the appetitive soul and the corporeal self, at that time, was perceived as being a source of evil, of abhorrent deeds and of base attributes, such as arrogance, envy, avarice, anger, rancor and greed, amongst others – attributes which must be tamed, purged and fought by forsaking sin and immersing oneself in all that is the antithesis of sin in one's deeds and attributes[81]. According to al-Ghazali, the path towards God "is the science of learning how to purify the heart of all malice and impurities by abstaining from desires and by emulating the Prophets, may God's peace and blessings be upon them, in all their circumstances; for, by as much as the heart is cleansed and blessed by a portion of the Truth, the truths of existence will sparkle within it"[82].

During this period, and based on the latter view and perceptions, numerous Sufi works and texts would emerge which dealt with the pestilences that inflict the *nafs*, or appetitive soul, corporeal self, and which focused on the notion of *akhlaq*, excellence of ethics and noble comportment and character. These great texts include "*al-ria'aya lihuquq allah*" (lit., "Safeguarding the Rights of God"), by al-Muhasibi; "*fawt al-qulub*" (lit., "The Entering of Hearts") by al-Makki; "*ihya 'ulum ad-din"* ("The Revival of Religious Sciences") by al-Ghazali; and "*al-futuhat al-makkiya*" ("The Meccan Revelations") by Ibn 'Arabi. On a more pragmatic level, Sufis obliged aspirants and disciples to seek and follow the path of an accomplished, knowledgeable sheikh or Sufi master or '*arif*, who could provide the proper religious and moral guidance that the disciple or aspirant required to advance through the progression of stages of the *ahwal* or spiritual states, and the *maqamat* or spiritual stations, beginning with repentance (*tauba*) and ultimately reaching the stage of witnessing (the Divine) or *mushahada*[83].[84]

Islamic Sufism's Historical Formation

Islamic Sufism would branch into a series of different paths that would evolve over the course of its historical development. The first form of Sufism, marked by an individual practice of piety, ascetic worship and moral discipline, was born with early Islam and was able to preserve its roots; however, this individualistic form was eventually exposed to new theoretical and practical dimensions and developed into new schools, theories and doctrines. By the end of the 2nd century AH, Sufism would witness an intrinsic transformation from asceticism (*zuhd*) to a form of religiosity based on the concepts of (Divine) love (*hubb*), self-annihilation (*fana'*) and gnosis (*ma'rifa*) with the contributions of Abu Yazid al-Bustami (d. 201 AH/874 AD) and his doctrine of *fana'* and of al-Junayd (d. 245 AH/910 AD) and his theory on *tawhid*[85], in addition to Dhul-Nun al-Misri (d. 245 AH/859 AD) and his paradigm on *ma'rifa* and al-Hallaj (d. 309 AH/922 AD) and his experience with *hulul* (incarnationism)[86].

Furthermore, the transformations affecting Islamic Sufism were occuring in the same context as the historical, social, political and cultural transformations that were taking place amongst the Islamic nation, in general, and in Islam, itself. Different schools of thought and of jurisprudence were emerging, and diverse philosophical and theological doctrines were crystallizing by virtue of the communication and exchange that was taking place with many different cultural environments and civilizations, at that time. The impact of different inter-cultural exchanges was deepened by the introduction of different translations of rational philosophies, all

of which produced rivalries, antagonisms, debates and conflicts which stripped the religion of its initial simplicity, and which resulted in the emergence of significantly disparate theories on the Divine and on divinity.

Within this historical context, Sufism would introduce its own *ijtihad*[87] and its own, independent views and perceptions on all the issues which were being raised during that period. And, the rivalry and antagonism between Sufis and Muslim jurists (*fuqaha'*) intensified due to the inferential and literal approach Muslim jurists adopted in understanding and applying Islamic law, and in dealing with its requirements – an approach which the Sufis considered as not going beyond the scope of the obvious. Instead, the Sufis would take a path and an approach that was based on seeking an inner, esoteric meaning and spirit, while preserving that which was apparent and obvious in the law.

Consequently, from the 3rd century AH onwards, the paths and approaches sought by the Sufis would bring the curse and wrath of Muslim jurists (*fuqaha'*) and theologists (*mutakalimeen*) upon its followers. Indeed, the circles of hostility and antagonism against the Sufis would continue to grow in Egypt, Syria and Iraq, and would reach the point of accusing Sufis of *takfir*[88], leading to the persecution and even execution of Sufis, such as in the case of al-Hallaj[89]. The jurist (*faqih*) Ahmad Bin Hanbal (d. 241 AH/855 AD) would become one of the most renowned opponents of Sufism. In return, he would suffer trials and tribulations at the hands of the Mu'tazila[90] during the Caliphates of al-Ma'moun, al-Mu'tasem and al-Wathiq. Meanwhile, the persecution of the Sufists at the hands of Hanbal's followers (*hanabila*) would culminate in an incident known as the trial of "*ghulam al-khalil*" in which almost 70 Sufis, amongst them Sheikh of the Sect, al-Junayd, were sentenced to death but later released[91].

Sufis also went to the extent of discrediting certain schools of jurisprudence and of the Hadith – criticism represented in the words of Abu Yazid al-Bustami when he said, "Poor souls, their

knowledge was passed on from the dead to the dead; we took our knowledge from the (one) life that will never die". And, Dhul-Nun al-Misri used to say, "In knowledge of that which is apparent, He spoke to us and informed us and forbade us and commanded us. Inner knowledge is a gift bestowed by God and is a covenant bestowed by Him, alone; a covenant by which He judges over them on that which exists between Him and them, which cannot be known by a king close to them nor prophet sent". Finally, the Sufis became renowned for their saying, "My heart spoke to me of my Lord"[92].

The debate over the dualism of the *shari'a* (Islamic law) versus "the (inner) Truth" would form the basis of the ongoing disagreement between the Sufis and the Muslim jurists (*fuqaha*'). According to the Sufis, the jurists (*fuqaha'*) were directing their attention to the surface, or apparent meaning of the law, without exploring the depths of its inner meaning; because, for the Sufis, the *shari'a* was divided into two disciplines: First: the science of the *dhaher* (or, the obvious; the exterior [in meaning and form]) of the *shari'a*, which studies acts and rites related to the external forms of worship, such as prayer, fasting and the *hajj* (pilgrimage), as well as social contracts and transactions, such as marriage, divorce, sales, and so forth. This science, for the Sufis, is called the science of *fiqh* (or jurisprudence), which is represented by the jurists (*fuqaha'*) and "*ahl al-fitya"* (religious authorities who issue *fatwas*[93]). Meanwhile, the second discipline was that of the inner (or *batin*) science, and esoteric knowledge of the religion, related to acts "committed by hearts"; or, the science of the Sufis. For Sufis, in this second discipline, Sufism is the science of truths and its people (*ahl*) are the masters of truths and of understanding (*fihm*). The latter, the jurists, are *ahl al-dhaher* (the people of the external, the apparent) and scholars of appearances or that which is on the surface.

This Sufi perspective on the two different approaches to the religion was affirmed by Ruwaym al-Baghdadi (d. 303 AH/915 AD) who said, "All created existence (*khalq*) remain seated before

appearances, and this Sect. The Sufis are seated before the (Divine) Truths and Realities. And, all of mankind hold themselves accountable to the appearances of the law, while the Sufis hold themselves accountable to the truth of piety and to everlasting truthfulness"[94]. For, "Sufism stresses upon the necessity of adhering to the *shari'a* and to abide by the religion; however, Sufis do not understand of religion, the literal form, nor of the *shari'a* its mere ceremonial form; rather, they always seek an approach to understanding the religion and its laws in a manner that differs, slightly or greatly, from the approach of the jurists (*fuqaha'*); and, in this, their revolt against them [the jurists] emerged"[95].

The care and attention that the Sufis bestowed upon the science of the "*batin*" or inner, esoteric meaning of the religion's laws, and the truth behind these laws, would expand its horizons to such an extent that this focus would manifest itself through many different paths in the quest to seek significance and meaning in symbolic representations and interpretations, which reached the point of gnosticism. Furthermore, Sufism's transfer and exchange with other cultural environments, saturated in Neo-platonic philosophical theories, led to combinations with spiritual elements of the East in doctrines that would influence and inspire the many segments of Sufism's followers. And, indeed, all these endeavors would only intensify the enmity growing between the Sufis and the jurists (*fuqaha'*) and the theologists (*mutakalimeen*) – an enmity that evolved into profound conflicts over the approaches and paradigms of study, methods of research and interpretation, and over the very essence of estoric knowledge or gnosis.

The juridical and theological approach to the religion of Islam took on a methodology of rational inference and logical criteria, quantification and proof, whereas the Sufis internalized the approach of exploration and discovery, using sensory experience and inspiration. This Sufi approach was grounded in concepts related to attaining knowledge in the science of the "reality of certainty" or "*haqq al-yaqin*", which is the knowledge of religion that God will convey to the heart of the believer who attains the

stage of *mukashafa* [96].[97] Indeed, for the Sufi, there is no science, "except for that which is by *kashf* (revelation; illumination; unveiling) and *shuhud*[98] and not that which is by thought and supposition, because thoughts are the wrong place"[99]. Al-Kalabadhi[100] expounds further on this methodology, saying, "Know that evidence of God is God alone. A Man once said to al-Nuri, 'what evidence is there of God?' and al-Nuri said, 'God Almighty'. He asked, 'then what of the mind (of intellect)?' and he replied, "The mind (intellect) is powerless; and the powerless can only provide evidence of powerlessness, like it"[101].

With this, a Sufism emerged that was associated with a philosophical outlook and a vision formulated with a specific approach to esoteric knowledge and gnosis (*ma'rifa*) and existence (*wujud*). The latter is clearly manifest in the definitions of Sufism presented by Sufis, where, for example, according to Ma'ruf al-Karkhi[102] (d. 200 AH/815 AD), "Sufism is to embrace Truths"[103]; and, where according to al-Junayd al-Baghdadi, "Sufism means that the Truth (God) causes you to die to (lit., from) your self and gives you life in It."[104]; and, where according to Abu Bakr al-Kattani[105] (d. 322 AH/934 AD), "Sufism is *safa'* (purity) and *mushahada*[106]"[107].

During this period, the larger of the Sufi schools began to form. The Baghdadi School would emerge as an heir to the Kufa and Basra Schools, with the most renowned '*ulama*[108] of the Baghdad school including the students of Ma'ruf al-Karkhi (d. 200 AH/815 AD), such as Sari al-Saqati (d. 254 AH/868 AD), Hareth al-Muhasibi (d. 249 AH/857 AD), Abu al-Qasim al-Junayd (d. 298 AH/910 AD), Abu al-Sa'id al-Jarraz (d. 297 AH/909 AD) and Abu 'l-Husayn al-Nuri (d. 295 AH/907) AD), amongst others, and later included Ibn 'Ata (d. 311 AH/923 AD), al-Hallaj (d. 309 AH/922 AD) and al-Shibli (d. 334 AH/946 AD).

The Khurasani School emerged during the same period as the Baghdadi School, with its most renowned '*ulama* being the students of Ibrahim al-Adham (d. 161 AH/778 AD) and Shaqiq al-Balkhi (d. 194 AH/810 AD), such as Bishr al-Hafi (*al-hafi*, meaning

“the barefoot”; i.e. otherwise known as Bishr the Barefoot) (d. 227 AH/842 AD), Hatim al-Asamm (*al-asamm*, meaning “the deaf”; i.e. otherwise known as Hatem the Deaf) (d. 237 AH/851 AD), Ibn Karram (d. 255 AH/869 AD), Yahya Ibn Muadh al-Razi (d. 258 AH/872 AD), al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi (d. 285 AH/898 AD) and Abu Hamdun al-Qassar (d. 271 AH/884 AD).

The Damascene-Eyptian School would also emerge and produce renowned ‘*ulama* including Dhul-Nun al-Misri (d. 245 AH/859 AD), al-Darani (d. 215 AH/830 AD) and Abu’l Hassan Ahmad Bin Abi al-Huwari (d. 230 AH/845 AD).

Also, in the 3rd century AH (9th century AD), a group of Sufis known by the name of the Mulamati would emerge in Nishapur. These Sufis followed a creed based on two concepts: magnanimity (*fatuwa*) and censure (*mulamata*). The concept of *mulamata* in their tradition signifies self-restraint and control, self-criticism and reprimand, and self-culpability in any negligence in obedience and submission. *Fatuwa* signifies attaining virtues such as magnanimity, courage, chivalry, munificence and generosity. These concepts would later evolve into signifying altruism (*ithar*) and sacrifice (*tadhiya*), and to never cause harm, to never complain, to give generously, to abandon glory and prestige and to fight the self or the ego. Of the most renowned *‘ulama* amongst the Mulamati include Abu Hamdun al-Qassar (d. 271 AH/884 AD) and Abu Hafs al-Haddad (d. 260 AH/874 AD).

What most distinguished the discourse of the Mulamati from the discourse of other Sufis was the attention they dedicated to the negative aspect of Sufi concepts and significations. Indeed, the Mulamati do not speak of acts, nor praise these acts but rather, condemn acts and lay blame upon themselves and these acts, on the basis that there cannot be but some form of inherent neglect in them. The Mulamati do not speak of faithfulness and devotion as much as they speak of hypocrisy. They prefer to speak of the shortcomings of acts and their disadvantages, rather than of the virtues of acts and their advantages. Indeed, the majority of this

school's discourse revolves around the culpability of the self, and of the struggle with the self, in addition to other forms of negative signification.[109]

Sufism would enter into its golden age in the 3rd and 4th centuries AH, during which a great number of Sufi texts and works emerged, all distinguished by their conceptual maturity and their methodological approach to Sufism, such as "*kitab al-luma'*" ("Book of Lights") by Abu Nasr al-Sarraj al-Tusi (d. 378 AH/998 AD) and the book "*qut al-qulub*" (lit., "The Food of the Hearts") by Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 388 AH/996 AD).

In the 4th and 5th centuries AH, Sufi texts and works emerged that gained authority and legitimacy amongst the more orthodox, Sunni[110] *madhab* or doctrine, such as "*kitab al-ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-tasawwuf*"("The Doctrine of the Sufis") by Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi (d. 380 AH/990 AD), and "*al-risaalatul al-qushayri fi 'ilim al-tassawuf*" ("The Qushayri Epistle on Sufism", sometimes also known as "The Qushayri Treatise" or "The Qushayri *Risala"*) written by Abu'l Qasim Qushayri (d. 465 AH/1072 AD).

Moreover, the person of al-Ghazali (d. 505 AH/1111 AD) and his book, "*ihya' ulum ad-din"* ("The Revival of Religious Sciences"), had a profound impact on introducing Sufism within the framework of Sunni Islam.

The 5th century AH was distinct from previous centuries in that Sufi books would also emerge for the first time in the Farsi language, such as the book "*kashf al-mahjoub*" ("Revealing the Mystery", found in English as "The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism"), by Ali 'Uthman al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri (d. 465 AH/1080 AD), who was also the first to write on Sufism in Farsi. Al-Harawi al-Itisari (d. 481 AH/1089 AD) would also write in Farsi about Sufism. It would also assume an elevated status in Farsi poetry with the likes of al-Attar (d. 651 AH/c.1220 AD), Jalaluddin al-Rumi (d. 672 AH/1273 AD) and 'Abd al-Rahman Jami (d. 898 AH/1492 AD). And, with time, Sufi writings in other Islamic languages, such as Turkish and Urdu, would follow suit.[111]

With the dawn of the 6th century AH, Sufism would enter into a more obscure philosophical phase, marked by an intensified use of signs and symbols related to gnostic sensory experience. This phase culminated in the emergence of Pantheist Sufis and the Sufis of *wihat al-wujud* (or, the transcendent Unity of Existence [of God]; or Oneness of Being), who worked on the doctrine of unity with God, based on the illuminated heart and the sensory experiences of the "seeker of the Truth" – and other notions similar to the concepts that prevailed amongst the earliest generation of Sufi elders – and transformed this doctrine into a comprehensive theory on existence. Of the more renowned '*ulama* of this form of Sufism was Yahya Bin Habash al-Suhrawardi al-Maktoul (d. 587 AH/1191 AD), who hailed from Iran and who worked to further develop the ideas of al-Hallaj and Muhyi al-Din Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638 AH/1240 AD). Ibn 'Arabi was of the Andalusian Sufis and is considered of the most important scholars in the doctrine or *madhab* of *wihdat al-wujud* (the transcendent Unity of Existence [of God]; or Oneness of Being).

The pillars of the doctrine of *wihdat al-wujud* include the belief that existence is God, and that the diversity and abundance of things in existence do not mean plurality of existence, but rather are manifestations and emanations through which the "unity of existence" is evidenced and proven. This particular doctrine or *madhab* would become widespread throughout the Islamic world, emerging first in the Arab Maghreb then spreading to the Levant and Persian East, all the way to the Indian Subcontinent, with its presence and influence still being felt today[112]. In addition to the ideas presented by Ibn 'Arabi, a contemporary of his, 'Abd al-Haqq Ibn Sab'in (d. 667 AH/1268 AD), would push the doctrine or *madhab* of *wihdat al-wujud* to its extreme limits, adopting the dictum of *al-wihdah al-mutliqa* or "Absolute Oneness" ("Absolute Unity of Existence or Oneness of Being")[113].

Over time and after the contributions of Ibn 'Arabi and others, the doctrine or *madhab* of *wihdat al-wujud* would take on three major directions: The first direction leaned towards presenting

a more systematic approach to the provisions and tenets of the doctrine, as well as theoretical clarity. And, it did not take a critical stand in terms of the doctrine's fundamental foundations and basic pillars. This particular school of *wihdat al-wujud* was represented by scholars such as al-Qanuni (d. 673 AH/1275 AD) and al-Jili (d. 823 AH/1428 AD), who wrote the book "*al-insan al-kamel*" ("The Perfect Being"). The second direction was of an interpretative, defensive tendency which combined interpretations of meanings put forth by Ibn 'Arabi and clarification of objectives of the doctrine. It also defended the approach and doctrine before its opponents and adversaries. This school was represented by al-Jami (d. 898 AH/1492 AD), al-Kashani (d. 730 AH/1329 AD), al-'Amili (d. 1031 AH/1621 AD), al-Nabulsi (d. 1134 AH/1731 AD) and Ibn 'Ajiba (d. 1224 AH/1809 AD). The third direction had an artistic intent which tended towards poetic expression, using the means of imagination and perception. The most renowned representatives of this school of *wihdat al-wujud* were Jalaluddin al-Rumi (d. 672 AH/1273 AD), who authored "*al-mathnawi*" (otherwise known by its Farsi name, "al-Masnavi")[114].

Finally, a general review of the course of Islamic Sufism's historical evolution exposes certain milestones and times in which Sufism would undergo profound transformations, which affected its very core and foundations. This examination reveals that, by the early 7th century AD, Sufism would emerge as a unique phenomenon marked by an individualistic, elitist character. However, by the 11th century AD, this phenomenon would begin to manifest itself in the form of a more popular, mass social expression, which would culminate in the system of popular Sufi *turuq* (orders), which would spread and take root by the 17th century, or during the reign of the Ottoman state, which introduced and internalized Sufism ideologically. These transformations are covered in more depth when these Sufi orders are examined later in the study.

The Sufi Approach: Wisal[115] and Wusul[116]

The Sufi approach to *ma'rifa* or gnosis (in the Divine) is unlike that of any other philosophical and theological approach or paradigm. Indeed, according to Nicholson, "Sufism is neither philosophy nor theology"[117]. Instead, it is derived from a combination of several different approaches and paradigms that are rooted in concepts such as *tajruba* (experience), *dhawq* (the senses; or, sensory and not rational or intellectual experience), *kashf* (revelation; illumination; unveiling [of the Truth]) and *mushahada* (the vision of the Truth [God/the Divine] obtained by the illuminated heart of the seeker of the Truth). It is thus that Ibn Khaldun arrives at the conclusion that, "All of Sufism relates back to struggling and seeking the way which leads to attaining its aim of *kashf* and *mushahada*"[118].

Indeed, for Sufis, gnosis is divided into three degrees, which are also referred to directly in the Holy Qur'an: the knowledge of certainty or "*'ilm al-yaqin*", the eye of certainty or "*'ayn al-yaqin*" and the reality of certainty or "*haqq al-yaqin*"[119]. Knowledge of certainty or *'ilm al-yaqin* is the lowest rank in the degrees of gnosis, as it is knowledge gained by reflection, deductive intellect and reasoning. The highest rank is the reality of certainty or *haqq al-yaqin*, which al-Junayd describes as follows, "It is to see the unseen as clearly as the eye sees the visible"[120]. In the three degrees, the eye of certainty is also a lower degree of knowledge for the Sufis, as "Knowledge of certainty is a state of separation (*tafriqa*); and separation is seeing something other than God – may He be great and exalted. And, the eye of certainty is the state of unification (*jam'*), and unification is seeing everything through [the

eyes of] God. And, reality of certainty is the state of unification of unification (*jam' al jam*); and, unification of unification is total self-annihilation [in God] and the loss of perception of anything other than God – may He be great and exalted, in the language of *tawhid* (certainty in the oneness of God)[121].[122] The degrees of gnosis for the Sufi work from the base and the essence of the principles of inference, deduction or intellectual reasoning – or, that gnosis or esoteric knowledge is derived from deducing or inferring evidence of the Creator's existence by all that is the universe, by the means of direct union (and reunion) with the absolute existential Truth (Reality; God). For, according to the Sufis, esoteric knowledge and gnosis extends beyond both the rational knowledge and the conveyance of rational knowledge found in people, who are either "persons of conveyance or influence, or persons of reason, intellect and thought... But, the Sufis ascend beyond all these; for what is unseen to people is clear to them... And, they are ahl al-wisal (the people of union and reunion) while others are ahl al-istidlal (the people of inference; deduction; reason)"[123].

For the Sufi, *wisal* or union (and reunion [with the Divine]) depends on sensory experience or what the Sufis term "*dhawq"*. The approach to *wusul* (ascension; attainment) is a spiritual experience lived by the wayseeker, who passes through the spiritual stations (*maqamat)* of spiritual states (*ahwal*) in a spiritual journey, which yields revelations and illuminations *(mukashafat*) and divine emanations (*fiyoudiyat*). According to al-Ghazali, "The greatest [trait] amongst their best is that which cannot be attained by learning, but rather by the senses and by the spiritual state, and by transforming [lit., exchanging] characteristics... For, I learned with certainty that they are masters of spiritual states (*ahwal)* and not masters of words (*aqwal)*. And, that which cannot be attained by learning has been attained; and, nothing remains but that which cannot be attained by listening and learning but by the senses and by seeking the way (*sulouk*)"[124].

The Sufis have many names to denote the Sufi "path" or "way" to *ma'rifa* or gnosis; it is a journey, a purpose, a path, a conduct, a behavior. Perhaps, the most common term to describe the Sufi way or path is "the spiritual ascension" or "*al-mi'raj al-rawhi*", which is an allegorical term that alludes to the corporeal Prophetic Ascension (or *mi'raj*)[125]. This way, journey or spiritual ascension is one manifestation found in the Sufism of all sects and religions; it is acknowledged by all as the "path of purification" (*tariq al-tatahur*). According to Nicholson, "Mystics (Sufis) of every race and creed have described the progress of the spiritual life as a journey or a pilgrimage"[126].

The milestones along the Sufi path or journey of spiritual purification are called the spiritual stations (*maqamat*) and the spiritual states (*ahwal*), both of which represent a succession of behavioral, psychological and emotional milestones that the wayseeker must pass through during his journey of ascension. A spiritual station, such as repentance (*tauba*), patience (*sabr*), trust in God (*tawakul*) and devotion (ikhlas), is "what one acquires through one's behavior, manners and conduct, and it is acquired by one's endurance of the hardships decreed for one by God, which cause one's suffering"[127]. A spiritual station is the result and yield of a spiritual struggle; and, a spiritual station cannot be named until the wayseeker is steadfast and stable within it; and, the wayseeker cannot move from one spiritual station to another until he has met all its provisions, conditions and rules. In this path of spiritual ascension, the Sufi *murid* (lit., "one who aspires" or aspirant; novice; disciple), "ascends from one spiritual station to another spiritual station until he ends with certainty in the oneness of God and gnosis"[128].

As for *ahwal* or spiritual states, these are in the form of contradictory pairs such as dejection and delight and fear and hope. The *hal* or spiritual state "is something that descends upon the hearts [of the mystics] regardless of their intentions, their [attempts to] attract it, or their [desire to] earn it."[129] In this, the spiritual station is distinguished from the spiritual state or in

terms of its source; for, "spiritual states are [divine] gifts, whereas spiritual stations are earnings."[130]

The spiritual stations and their descriptions and definitions vary amongst the Sufis and amongst the Sufi orders. During the nascent years of Sufism, spiritual stations were simple and composed of clearly delineated and defined elements. For instance, al-Junayd, presents the spiritual stations as clearly as follows; they are "Repentance that rules out insistence on sin; fear that destroys vain expectations; hope that keeps you on the road of righteousness; and contemplation of God that does not allow other ideas in the heart"[131]. And, for al-Sarraj, there are seven spiritual stations, which are repentance (*tauba*); abstinence (*wara'*; also piety), renunciation (*zuhd*; also asceticism), poverty (*fuqr*), patience (*sabr*), trust in God (*tawakul*) and contentment (*rida;* or, satisfaction with divine decree)[132].

Over time and with the evolution of Sufism, the spiritual stations would expand to the point that, for example, with al-Harawi al-Ansari, they reached one hundred in his book "*manazil al-sa'ireen*" (lit., "The Stations of the Seekers")[133]. And, the multiplicity of spiritual stations and their propagation is not related to historical evolution alone, but also to the individual nature of the Sufi experience, which in itself yields numerous and diverse perceptions and visions. For, according to Ibn Khaldun, "The way to God Almighty equals the number of souls of all created things"[134].

Repentance (*tauba*) is considered the beginning of the path and its first step; and, it is the first spiritual station in the succession of spiritual stations. According to the Sufi, "Repentance is the origin of every spiritual station and the key to every spiritual state, and it is the first of spiritual stations"[135]. Repentance means to rid oneself of the animalistic self and of the corporeal world; and, the Sufi does not mean by repentance "the cessation of sin... rather, they mean by it something else, much farther and more profound than all this... It is stripping oneself of the self and ridding oneself of the self"[136].

The path of gnosis (*ma'rifa*) and union with God is based on struggling against the self as the self is considered a veil that prevents the "light", or the unveiling of certain knowledge in the unseen. Al-Ghazali addresses the wayseeker, saying, "Unless you kill the carnal self with the sincerity of self-exertion (*mujahadah*[137]), you will fail to illuminate your heart with the light of gnosis"[138]. For, the first thing that the wayseeker must do is know the self in order to distinguish between thoughts and notions whose source is inspiration and between thoughts and notions whose source is fixations, obsessions and apprehensions; the latter is required in order to be able to conquer the self and avoid its control and negative influence over the aspirant. In the words of Kalabadhi, the first obligation of the wayseeker is "to rise above the plague of the self, to know it, and exercise it, and discipline its manners"[139]. Al-Ghazali summarizes the path of purification to be followed as being one of "remembrance of God" (*dhikr*[140]) and "constraining the stomach and staying up at night observing silence and seclusion".[141]

Remembrance or recollection of God (*dhikr*) enjoys an elevated rank and refined status in the doctrine of the Sufis. The wayseeker must immerse himself in the remembrance of God to the point that the sense of tangible things becomes absented, and this remembrance is in order to avoid the veiling of the mind. According to al-Ghazali, "Godliness is the gate to remembrance and remembrance is the gate to revelation"[142]. And, according to Abu 'Ala Afifi, "remembrance or recollection of God is the means to arousing a state of ecstasy (*wajd*), and for illumination (*ishraq*) to occur"[143].

The path of Sufi gnosis is not simple or easy. Those who seek these paths of spiritual ascension must be patient and endure, and even with patience and endureness, those who seek this path may never be capable of attaining its aim, because "Direct knowledge of God is based on revelation or apocalyptic vision. It is not the result of any mental process, but depends entirely on the will and favor of God, who bestows it as a gift from Himself upon those

whom He has created with the capacity for receiving it"[144]. And, if this path does not necessarily lead to gnosis, attaining gnosis requires, by obligation, seeking the path of purification, as "Purity of awareness, active intelligence and the power of illumination will exist only to the extent that one can strip himself of all profane and worldly ambitions. And, here, for those who adhere to the approach of the wayseekers and travelers of this path and of the people of this way, the Sufi way of self-exertion on the path of God is an obligatory requirement in the quest to attain the glimmerings of the illumination of gnosis and the flashes of divine revelation"[145].

The wayseeker will not attain "the [Divine] Truth of gnosis and the purity of *tawhid* (certainty in the oneness of God) until he passes through the spiritual states and spiritual stations of the Sufi path on the way to God[146]. And *haqq al-ma'rifa* (Truth of gnosis) emerges from *mukashafat*, *tajilliyat* and *ishraqiyat*. With these concepts being gnostic terms unique to the Sufis with *mukashafa* meaning, "revealing that which conceals the unseen, unveiling it to the servant of God, as if he were seeing it with one's own eyes"[147]; and *tajalli* meaning, "the [divine] illumination of the heart by and the lights of the reception of the Truth upon the hearts of those capable of receiving it"[148]; and *ishraq* meaning "the moment of [self-] manifestation [self-] revelation of gnosis (*ma'rifa*)"[149].

The quest for gnosis, attained through the Sufi path of spiritual ascension, has led to many and diverse tendencies, perspectives and approaches to the Divine and to divinity, from *fana'* or self-annihilation, to *ittihad* or unification with the Divine, to *wihdat al-shuhud* or the doctrine of the 'Unity of Witness or Oneness of Perception; Apparentism', to *wihdat al-wujud* or the 'transcendent Unity of Existence [of God]; or Oneness of Being'. And, according to Muhammad Bin al-Tayyeb, a thorough examination of Sufi texts will reveal that these concepts all reflect different degrees and levels of one spiritual experience, and that *wihdat al-wujud* is a sensory, subconscious and intuitive state in origin. However, the gnostic cannot attain this state at once, but gradually, and only as the fruit of the Sufi path of spiritual ascension. Here, the gnostic

undergoes the first level of *fana'*, or the passing away of one's attributes and accomplishments; and, in this state, the gnostic no longer witnesses his own attributes or accomplishments, but rather the attributes and accomplishments of the Divine, the Most Exalted and Beloved. Then, the gnostic undergoes the next level of *fana'*, or the passing away of everything but the Divine, until he attains the highest level of *fana'*, where he enters into the state of unification with the Beloved. And, this unification is not a unification of the Truth or of Reality, but rather a sensory and intuitive awareness that the gnostic is "the eye of his Beloved", that there is nothing but God, One and Alone, and that the corporeal in the gnostic no longer exists and is entirely absent in himself. Finally, the state of *wihdat al-shuhud* (Unity of Witness; or Oneness of Perception; Apparentism) precedes *wihdat al-wujud* (transcendent Unity of Existence [of God]; or Oneness of Being) with *wihdat al-shuhud* being the first attainment, or attaining the beginning; whereas *wihdat al-wujud* is the last attainment, or reaching the end[150].

The concept of *wihdat al-wujud* has been further developed and internalized within the domain of Sufism by the work of Ibn 'Arabi, who altered the pantheistic and atheist concepts of *wihdat al-wujud,* which claimed that "unity of existence" was related to all things of corporeal and material existence. Instead, with Ibn 'Arabi and his followers, a spiritual nature in the context of *fana'* was attributed to *wihdat al-wujud*, and not an integrationist, material unity. Or, in other words, according to Ibn 'Arabi and his followers, the true (real) existence is this material world, as represented before our senses, but unity of existence is the ideal or spiritual representation which replicates the existence of a Higher, Absolute or Ultimate Truth – which is the Truth as manifested in the images of all things present in creation – where all things dwell in non-existence, because they do not exist in themselves but rather exist in God; for, according to Ibn 'Arabi, "Everything that exists is a part of and a manifestation of the Oneness of God"[151].

The approach of *wusul,* or gnostic ascension or attainment, for the Sufis is founded on *wisal,* or union and reunion with the Divine. Gnosis does not occur by *dhikr* or “remembrance of God”, or through seclusion and other forms of methodological spiritual exercises and practices. The latter are considered no more than a means through which the wayseeker is assisted in purifying his heart so that his heart is ready to receive the (divine) revelations (*mukashafat)* and effusions (*fuyoudiyat)*. Finally, the wayseeker is obliged to progress and ascend through the spiritual stations and spiritual states and wait, patiently; because, Sufi gnosis is distinct in that it is absolute knowledge that is direct, immediate and instantaneous. It defies expression and is distinct in its truthfulness, its sincerity and its constancy before God. And, the conditions for its attainment are unity and oneness between subject and object[152]. [153]

Indeed, gnosis in the Divine, according to the Sufis, is not attained by sight, intellect or reason, and *tawhid* (certainty in the oneness of God) is a lofty, sublime matter that goes beyond the awareness of the mind; gnosis is of the secrets which God shall reveal to those of His servants He wills.

Mahabba and Fana’

Mahabba or Divine Love or love of God[154] holds a central place in Sufi philosophy and is closely linked by Sufis to the spiritual station of gnosis or *ma'rifa*. For the Sufis, Divine Love and gnosis are complementary notions that represent the end, or ultimate aim, of the Sufi path. Some Sufis place the spiritual station of Divine Love or *"maqam al-mahabba*" above the spiritual station of gnosis or "*maqam al-ma'rifa*". Indeed, in the words of al-Ghazali, "Love of God without knowledge of God is impossible; for, only those who know can love"[155]. Sufis have also differed over whether Divine Love is a spiritual state (*hal*) or a spiritual station (*maqam*). Ibn 'Arabi considers Divine Love as being a spiritual station and a spiritual state at the same time, influenced as he was by al-Suhrawardi, who also sanctioned this notion[156].

The religious references used in sanctioniong the spiritual station of Divine Love are the Holy Qur'an and the Prophetic Sunna. Indeed, the term "love" or "*hubb"* is mentioned in the Holy Qu'ran 83 times[157]. Specifically, the Sufis have focused great heed on the following Qur'anic verses: "*Say, [O Muhammad, to mankind], 'If you should love God, then follow me, [so] God will love you*"[158] and "*God will bring forth a people He will love and who will love Him*"[159]. The particular focus by Sufis on these two Qur'anic verses is based on the belief that these verses specifically establish the mutual love that exists between God and His servants[160]. The Prophetic Sunna also frequently refers to love, with one of the most widely referenced by the Sufis being the Sacred Hadith or *hadith qudsi* – that is, a Hadith or statement transmitted from the Prophet in

which God is the speaker – which says, *"The Prophet, may God bless and greet him, said that God, blessings be upon Him, said: '[My servant] draws near Me through nothing more than that which I have made obligatory for him. My servant never ceases drawing nearer to Me through supererogatory works until he loves Me and I love him. Then, when I love him, I become his sight and hearing through which he hears and sees …When he asks me, I grant him and when he seeks my protection, I protect him'"*[161]

The Sufi notion of Divine Love emerged from within the early stages of Sufism, with *mahabba* or love of God being perceived as a means to perfecting obedience and surrender to God and as a means of salvation from Hellfire and for triumphing in Heaven. Indeed, Divine Love, for the Sufis, is desire and fear turned into a passion that overwhelms hearts and their existence. This discourse of Divine Love was that of God being the Beloved.

It was from within the context of this discourse that the ascetic Sufi tendencies and the Sufi quest for self-exertion on the path of God sprung forth, in addition to the belief in reliance on God and in the Hereafter, and of renouncing the corporeal world or "lower" life, of despairing of people and of disconnecting and severing oneself from all relations with things material. These beliefs bestowed upon the Sufis a sensitivity which carried them forth in a determined struggle to be more complete in their obedience, in their submission to God and in their quest to be closer to God.

Rabi'a al `Adawiyya al-Basriyya[162] (d. 185 AH/801 AD) is considered the first of the Sufis to declare her love of God and to put forth a comprehensive theory on Divine Love. There was a class of Sufi ascetics, followers or contemporaries of Rabi'a al `Adawiyya, who would also adopt and internalize the theory of Divine Love, and would communicate this in their prayers, supplications, instructions and texts. Of these Sufis, Ibrahim Bin Adham (d. 161 AH/788 AD), used to say, "My Lord, You know that Heaven does not carry the weight of a mosquito's wing for me if you recognize me in Your remembrance and bless me with

Your love and ease my way in submission to You"[163]. And, Kahmas Bin al-Hassan al-Qaisi al-Tamimi (d. 149 AH) would address the Lord late at night, saying, "I see You, [oh] source of my torment, and You are the apple of my eye and the Love of this heart"[164] as 'Abd al-Wahad Bin Zayd (d. 177 AH), was known to say, "Your Glory and Your Magnificence, I know not the joy of Your Love without meeting You and without being restored by seeing Your Magnificence in the dignity of Your Dwelling"[165].

Indeed, 'Abd al-Wahad Bin Zayd was known to breakdown weeping and famed for arousing an ecstatic state (*wajd*) in others to the degree that Hussein Bin al-Qassem al-Wazin said, "If 'Abd al-Wahad Bin Zayd's proclamations and supplications could be divided and spread amongst all the folk of Basra, they would be enough to embrace and envelop them all"[166]. The example of 'Abd al-Wahad Bin Zayd drove Ibn Taymiyya to say that Bin Zayd was the first true Sufi and that "Sufism emerged first in Basra, and the first to create the circle of Sufism were those amongst the companions of 'Abd al-Wahad Bin Zayd"[167].

Yet another of the pioneers of Divine Love was 'Utbah al-Ghulam (d.177 AH), who would call to his Lord, saying, "If You punish me, I love You and if You have mercy on me, I love You"[168]. Al-Ghulam was known to repeat this phrase over and over again, weeping until dawn. He would pray throughout the night, and when there were no longer tears or prayers left in him, he would raise his head, saying, "[Oh] My Master, if You torment me, I love You and if You spare me, I love You"[169].

At this early stage, the notion of *fana'*[170] (self-annihilation) had not yet been introduced within the path of love of God and the doctrine of Divine Love; rather, the doctrine remained in a rudimentary form based on the practice of profound meditation on the Eternal, Divine Spirit[171]. And, despite the lofty place the spiritual station of love of God commands for the Sufis, they all proclaim that Divine Love is beyond description; that its very essence is beyond awareness. Al-Qushayri expounds on Divine

Love, saying, "As for the servant's love of God, it is a state that he finds in his heart that is too subtle for any expression. Such a state may move the servant to exalt Him, to seek His satisfaction, to be impatient, and to long passionately for Him, to be restless without Him, and to find intimacy with Him in his heart by remembering Him. The servant's love of God – praise be to Him – involves neither an inclination nor a limit. How can this be otherwise, when His everlasting Essence is too holy to allow any contact, grasp or comprehension? It is better for the lover to be in the state of full engrossment in his Beloved than to be in a state characterized by any limitation. Love, as such, cannot be described or defined by any clear and understandable description or definition"[172].

The latter is an expression of the fruits of Divine Love, which are graced upon those who devote themselves to God in obedience and in submission (*ta'aa*), and who feel the pleasure of intimacy (*ans*) and solitude (*khalwa*) in one's calling forth to nearing (*iqbal*) God, and in one's incessant yearning and intense longing (*shawq*) to see Him. Indeed, love of God in essence and in spirit is beyond expression or description for the Sufis. When Rabi'a al `Adawiyya was asked how she sees Divine Love, she said, "There is no separation between the Beloved and His lover, there is only the pronouncement of intense longing (*shawq*) and an expression of senses, for the one who senses, knows; and the one who describes, cannot describe that which cannot be described; for, how does one describe something in whose Presence you are absent, and in His Presence, you are dissolved, and in His Sight, you are vanished, and in your sobriety, you are intoxicated by Him... and, in your delight in Him, infatuated ... For, awe silences the tongue from telling... Thereafter, there is nothing but permanent wonderment, constant bewilderment, overwhelmed hearts, secrets silenced and ailing bodies of imperfection"[173].

Despite the elevated status that Rabi'a al `Adawiyya occupies in the doctrine and spiritual station of love of God, this does not mean that she was unique as a pioneer of Divine Love, as many Arab and Orientalist scholars maintain. One of these scholars,

Dr. Mustafa ‘Abd al-Raziq emphasizes the fact that Rabi’a al `Adawiyya was the forerunner in setting the foundations for the state of Divine Love and for grief in the structure of Islamic Sufism[174], whereas Dr. Ali Sami al-Nashar[175], says, “This opinion is one that we cannot ascertain as accurate, at all; especially, as we are well aware that there were many female adherents before Rabi’a that spoke of Divine Love, and called out to God, Glorious and Almighty, in the middle of the night in the context of clear and true love of God. Of these (female) adherents was Hayouneh, in whom Rabi’a sought refuge, and who helped Rabi’a find her way when she first embarked upon her path of worship. Hayouneh had great influence over Rabi’a, and Rabi’a would listen to her as she supplicated, *“Oh Ye, who promised satisfaction and contentment to His lover... Ye are the One I desire and no other”*[176].

A contemporary of Rabi’a, Sha’awanah, also chanted of Divine Love with clear insistence before Rabi’a, and would introduce expressions before Rabi’a introduced the same expressions regarding Divine Love[177]. And before Rabi’a al-‘Adawiyya came many Sufi men, including ‘Amer Bin ‘Abd Allah Bin ‘Abd Qais, who died in Jerusalem circa 60 AH, as well as Khulayd Bin ‘Abd Allah and Kahmas Bin al-Hassan al-Qaisi al-Tamimi, who died in 149 AH, amongst others. It appears clear that the spirit of Basra, which gave rise to Rabi’a, was overflowing with Divine Love; for, all the Sufis who preceded her in their discourse about this spiritual station emerged from Basra. In any case, Rabi’a would be linked with a group of adherents who were renowned for their asceticism and for their love of God; and, Rabi’a would carry the greatest honor that could be bestowed upon her by these servants of God, including ‘Abd al-Aziz Bin Salman al-Rasibi, who called her “*sayyed al-‘abidin*” or “The Master of the Worshippers”[178].

A spiritual state very closely related to that of Divine Love is the spiritual state of *“shawq”*, or intense yearning, longing or ardent love (for God), which, for the Sufi, represents “a journey of the heart in longing for (His) Love, so that it will not settle until it prevails and is granted this Love”[179]; or, “a yearning that makes the lover

hasten to please the Beloved and hasten towards Him at once"[180]. However, differences would arise over whether it was permissible to attribute this term, "*shawq*", in relation to God. The author of "*manazil al-sa'ireen*" (lit., "The Stations of the Seekers"), al-Harawi al-Ansari, says, "The reason for this is that it [*shawq* or intense longing; ardent love] is used in relation to one who is absent; and, the doctrine of this sect is founded on the notion of *mushahada* (direct witnessing of God and/or the True Realities of existence). For this reason, it cannot be rightly used when speaking of God or when speaking of His servant, especially as this term is never mentioned in the Qur'an or in the Sunna explicitly to the word".

Meanwhile, others would permit its use in relation to God, recounting in effect that the Almighty says, "*The righteous have been touched by their intense yearning to meet Me as I intensely yearn to meet them*". Another point used by the proponents of the term *shawq* is "that God is never absent from His Servant" and that this presence is in itself gnosis; whereas, meeting and proximity to the Beloved is another matter altogether. They insist that *shawq* or, intense longing and yearning for God, falls under the latter category; and, that the latter has a pre-determined destiny and will take place, although not a moment before it is decreed. In support of this position, they refer to the words of God the Almighty, "*Whoever should hope for the meeting with God – indeed, the term decreed by God is coming; He is the Hearing, the Knowing"*[181] and Abu Othman al-Hiri says "this is the consolation for those who yearn intensely for God"[182].

Thus, intense yearning and longing for God is seen by many Sufis as one of the requirements of Divine Love and one of the fruits of its fruits. Indeed, without this intense yearning and longing, the extent of the truthfulness and sincerity of the love that God's servant has for his Creator is called into question. And, the zenith of this feeling of intense longing and yearning for God is manifested during moments of intimacy, when one is alone with God; for, according to al-Hujwiri, "Love of God is an attribute that emerges from the heart of the obedient believer, and in one's exaltation and

veneration of God, when one asks for His satisfaction and for the contentment of his Beloved; and when one becomes impatient in demanding to see Him; and when one becomes anxious in one's desire to be near Him and to dwell with no other but Him, and to remember Him always"[183]. It is only with the strength of such yearning and longing for God that believers deviate from their patience and see the pleasure in death, "Because those with this feeling, plead with it to meet with the Beloved, and if death is remembered, find pleasure in it, as the traveler finds pleasure in remembering his return to his family and his loved ones"[184].

Indeed, after Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya and many of her contemporaries, the doctrine of Divine Love would become the critical axis around which Sufi life would revolve, and the essence of that which the Sufi path called forth. Divine Love would become the mark of the Sufi sect and the title of its path and the inextricable anchor to its origins[185].

In the 3rd century AH, numerous other Sufi elders and writers would examine love of God and the doctrine of Divine Love in their works, such as al-Harith Bin Asad al-Muhasibi, al-Junayd al-Baghdadi, Sari al-Saqati, Dhul-Nun al-Misri, Sahl al-Tustari and Abu Bakr al-Shibli, amongst others. And, the doctrine of Divine Love would reach its zenith with the scholars of the school of *wihdat al-wujud* (the transcendent Unity of Existence [of God]; or Oneness of Being) and particularly, Ibn al-Farid (d. 632 AH/1235 AD) and Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638 AH/1240 AD). Finally, singing of Divine Love amongst Sufi poets in Persia would also prevail amongst the likes of Jalaluddin al-Rumi (d. 672 AH/1273 AD), Fakhr-al-Din al-Iraqi (d. 688 AH/1289 AD), Ahadudin al-Karamani (624 AH/1227 AD), Mahmud Shabistari (d. 720 AH/1320 AD), Muhammad Shirin Maghribi (d. 809 AH/1406 AD) and Nur 'Ali Shah (d. 1160 AH/1748 AD), amongst others[186].

Finally, much credit is due to al-Hallaj (d. 309 AH/922 AD) for the advancements made in the theory of Divine Love. Certainly, it was al-Hallaj's work which would be built upon by those who followed

him, such as the scholars of the school of *wihdat al-wujud*. Al-Hallaj would introduce conceptual notions to this doctrine, which worked from the principle that the core of the essence of the "*that*"[187] (the object-self) and of the subject of the Divine is love, and where, according to al-Hallaj, "The essence of God's essence is Love. Before the creation, God loved Himself in absolute unity and through love revealed Himself to Himself alone. Then, desiring to behold that love-in-aloneness, that love without otherness and duality, as an external object, He brought forth from non-existence an image of Himself, endowed with all His attributes and names. This Divine image is Adam in and by who God is made manifest – divinity objectified in humanity"[188].

As for *fana'*, or the Sufi's self-annihilation in God, this is the ultimate goal in the Sufi's quest for perfecting and attaining completion in gnosis or, "for the Sufi to become aware of the unity between the *'arif* (he who knows God; the gnostic) and the *ma'rouf* (the All-Knowing)"[189]. Many different terms or definitions have been used for this state, such as "*wajd"* or "ecstatic rapture", which is engendered by the mystic's encounter with the Divine Reality; and *"dhawq*" or "direct tasting" of the True Realities behind the appearances of the empirical world; and "*shurub"* or "drinking" and "becoming satiated" [from the cup of] the Divine; and "*ghayba"* or "mental and devotional absence (with God)" as opposed to "*hudur*" or "being present with Him"; and *"sukr*" or a mystical state of "intoxication" with the Divine; and "*istitlam"* or "surrendering" and eradicating the corporeal self in the Divine[190]. For the Sufis, all these different notions represent a state of self-erasure, self-annihilation, self-consumption and self-dissolution that is manifested in gnosis – or, where "the shackles of logic (or law) no longer bind those who have attained knowledge (in the Divine)"[191].

Perhaps the best definition of *fana'* is given by the Japanese scholar, Toshihiko Izutsu, who defines *fana'* "as the total nullification of ego-consciousness," which implies "immediated cognition of Absolute Reality before it is articulated into different things [Creator (*khaliq*) and created things (*makhlouq*)]"[192].

Muslim religious philosophers and theologians believe that there is a metaphysical divide between Absolute, Transcendent Divine Presence (*wujud*) and the finite and changing world; and, that the human cannot enter within, transverse or cross this gap in view of the vast and clear separation between the human, corporeal, earthly, "lower" world and the world of the Immaculate Divine Presence. In contrast, the Sufis believe that it is possible to transverse across this metaphysical divide between the two worlds. They believe it is possible to eliminate the distance that separates between the aware, knowing-object and the knowing-subject[193]; and, that this is the fundamental condition to attaining gnosis of [direct] tasting of the True and Absolute Realities and witnessing of the Universal Truth behind the appearances of the empirical world – which cannot be known through the corporeal or the rational mind and intellect.

For the Sufis, this passing or crossing over takes place at the level of the will, at the level of feelings and at the level of existence (*wijdan*); and, this passing is what the Sufis define with the term "*fana' al-iradi"* or "willful self-annihilation" or "*fana' al-shuhoodi*" or "self-annihilation of witnessing; of perception; of apparentism". This passing or crossing over does not take place because the separation and the distinction between the two worlds are absent or lacking; but rather, it is contingent on the ability of the Sufi to transcend the feeling of separation, of abundance and of the object-self[194]. This Sufi perception is founded in the belief of the absence of delimitation, or nondelimitation[195] – or, that the infinite dimension that exists between the human and God cannot be erased by attaining union without divine illumination. Or, in other words, gnosis in the Absolute Power and Essence of the Divine is not delimited by the imaginings and deliberations of the rational mind or intellect on "the Absolute" – as these can only lead to obstructing or disabling the passing, or moment of *fana'* – for, in the words of the Sufi, "in every *farq* (separation, or state of detachment from God) without *jam'* (unification, or the state of being in the presence of God) is disablement and obstruction"[196].

Therefore, the Sufi speaks of the metaphysical gap as that which cannot be separated from the abstract power of the Divine in its manifestations, in its union and in its management of man and the universe; just as the abundance and the images of all that which is represented in the corporeal, created existence and in created things are nothing more than mere manifestations, signs and additions which are but an affirmation of the absolute power of the Divine (God) and an affirmation of the Divine (God's) Attributes. Hence, Sufis do not see the world save from the perspective that non-existence is the world's origins and non-existence is its fate, because "The world is a presence between two non-existent sides... It was a non-existent non-existence, and it will be a non-existent non-existence, and the gnostic will not witness it except with non-existent non-existence"[197], which is what al-Sarraj calls, "the annihilation of the recent in relation to the past"[198].

Sufi unification (with the Divine) is not between God and the object-self, but rather a unification of witnessing; or, a unification of perception that occurs by the grace of divine light, illuminations, and effusions which are manifestations of the Divine Attributes. Indeed, the Sufi spares no effort with regard to adhering to the conditions and to the manners of behavior required for the adherent to seek his way towards the *fana'* of his consciousness and his feelings for things and of his corporeal object-self. The ultimate aim of intense remembrance of God (*dhikr*), solitude (*khalwa*), silence (*samt*), hunger (*jou'*), night vigils (*sahr*), as well as all the other means of spiritual purification, is the evanescence and diminished sense of the corporeal self and world in order to pave the way for divine illumination (*ishraq*) and for the unveiling and the disclosure of the True Realities and Divine Secrets of Being before the Sufi (*kashf*), who is prepared and graced by God for the reception of the rays of divine light.

Sufi experience, spiritual practice and exercise enable the Sufi to find separation from the natural sensations of perception and awareness, and enable the Sufi to close the door before external sensory and corporeal impressions, feelings and influences. This

disciplining of the corporeal or object-self is aimed at creating the spiritual state required for the Sufi to be able to meditate in order to seek inner illumination. However this individual Sufi experience, spiritual practice and exercise differs from the philosophical perspective and methodology held by the scholars of the school of *wihdat al-wujud*, such as Ibn 'Arabi and Ibn Sab'in, whose doctrine is rooted in working towards the abolition of the existential distance and metaphysical divide, which separates between the world of Absolute Divine Truths or Realities and the corporeal world of change. This philosophical, metaphysical theory introduced theoretical intellect and reason in order to propagate the sensory and emotional conditions required for the Sufi experience. It was this philosophical theory which would produce a metaphysical doctrine of ontology that elevated the experience from that of an individual, spiritual and existential experience, which is affirmed by the Sufi dictum that, "Every unification (*jam'*) without separation (*tafriqa*) is clandestine unbelief (*zandaqa*)"[199].

Engaging in the Sufi experience and attaining the spiritual station of self-annihilation or *fana'*, and a state of *hulul* or the incarnation of God in the human body, has carried certain Sufis to states of extreme *wajd,* or a state of ecstatic rapture engendered by the mystic's encounter with the Divine Reality[200]. In these states of *wajd*, the Sufi may utter statements that do not concur with Sunni and more moderate Sufi tendancies. These utterances have become known by the term "*shatahat*", which means sweeping, ecstatic statements, such as that which was uttered by al-Hallaj, "*ana al-haqq*" ("I am the Truth"), and that which was uttered by Bayazid al-Bustami, "*subhani*" ("Glory to Me!"). These ecstatic statements are perceived as stemming from a profound sprititual experience which is beyond explanation and interpretation. Indeed, many Muslim jurists (*fuqaha'*) have shown tolerance towards this manifestation. Even Hanbali[201] jurist, Ibn Taymiyya, who was one of the greatest critics of Sufism, said, "About *fana'* – a term the Sufis use to literally signify extinction or self-extinction – and the *shatahat* or sweeping, ecstatic statements made by Sufis, these are of a state of love that characterizes many of the lovers of God

and those who seek God. Here, a person vanishes to himself in the object of his love – God – through the intensity of his love. He will recall God, not recalling himself; he will remember God and forget himself; he will take God to witness and not take himself to witness; he will exist in God and not to himself. When he reaches this stage, he no longer feels his own existence. That is why he may say, in this state, '*ana al-haqq*' ('I am the Truth'), or '*subhani*' (Glory to Me!) and '*ma fi al-jubba illa Allah*' ('There is nothing in this cloak except God'); because he is intoxicated with the love of God and this is a pleasure and happiness that he cannot control... This matter has in it both truth and falsehood. Yet, when through his fervor, he enters into a state of ecstatic love (*'ishq*) for God, he will take leave of his mind; and when he enters that state of absentmindedness, he will find himself as if he is accepting the concept of *ittihad* (union with God). I do not consider this a sin, because that person is excused and no one may punish him, as he is not aware of what he is doing. The judge does not condemn the crazed person except when that person is restored to sanity, and commits the same act. However, when a believer is in that state and commits a mistake, he will come under God's address, as stated in the verse, *'O! Our Lord, do not take us to task if we forget or make mistakes'* (2:286). There is no blame on you if you unintentionally err.[202]

Ways of the Path and of the Orders

The Sufi way would eventually branch out into numerous paths and take different directions within the context of its historical evolution. In the 2nd century AH, or in the nascent years of Sufism, an individualistic character based on personal spiritual experience prevailed amongst an elite group of people, who strove to become closer to God and who severed relations with people and the material world. After the 5th century AH, this individualistic character of Sufism would transform into a more popular, social manifestation. And, between the 6th century and until the 11th century AH, the popular manifestation of Sufism would expand, proliferate and gain influence across the Arab and Islamic worlds. By the early 11th century AH, Sufism would evolve into Sufi *turuq* (orders, or paths), which took on more defined and categorical forms in their religious, popular and social expression.

According to Annemarie Schimmel, "Mystics in every religious tradition have tended to describe the different steps on the way that leads toward God by the image of the Path. The Christian tripartite division of the: *via purgativa*, the *via contemplativa*, and the *via illuminiativa* is, to some extent, the same as the Islamic definition of *shari'a*, *tariqa* and *haqiqa*. The *tariqa*, the 'path' on which the mystics walk, has been denied as 'the path which comes out of the *shari'a*, for the main road is called "*shari*'", the path, "*tariq*". This derivation shows that the Sufis considered the path of mystical education a branch of that highway that consists of the God-given law, on which every Muslim is supposed to walk."[203]

The Sufi path has been recognized and introduced through several different definitions, with all these different definitions depending on the composition of the specific "Sufi path" or "order", such as its constituent elements, its instructional and spiritual methods, and the milestones set for attaining and achieving its goals, as well as what it possesses in authority and influence over people. Of the many definitions for "*tariqa*" or a Sufi "order" or "path" in the Sufi way are the following:

1. A *tariqa* is a practical path that guides the wayseeker by defining a manner of thought, feelings and action which will lead the wayseeker through a succession of spiritual stations or "*maqamat*" in integral association with psychological experiences called spiritual states or "*ahwal*", in order to experience the Divine Reality or Truth. At first, a *tariqa* simply meant a progressive method for contemplative and soul-releasing mysticism, with circles of disciples gathering around an acknowledged master of the "way", seeking training through association or companionship, but not linked to him by any initiatory tie, covenant or vow of allegiance[204].

2. A *tariqa* is a powerful authority in the followers and funds it possesses; and, it possesses a spiritual and moral authority over people through its sheikhs or elders[205].

3. A *tariqa* is the recognition by the *murid* (lit., "one who aspires"; aspirant; Sufi novice/disciple) of his full devotion, complete faith and absolute adherence to the sheikh of the *tariqa*, who is considered of the righteous elders in the eyes of those who believe in him, and whose influence over his adherents is drawn by his supernatural powers (i.e. paranormal abilities and miracles) and abilities which are beyond that of the normal human being and which are derived from mastering the religious sciences[206].

A Sufi *tariqa* or order is made up of a learned sheikh, scholar or "*'alim*", master or teacher with spiritual authority – gained by his education, his *ijtihad* or the use of personal reasoning or

rationalization to determine what is correct from the point of view of the Islamic *shari'a*, or his elevated social status amongst his clan, tribe or people –, and the *murid* or aspirant, who is considered a student and a wayseeker of the Sufi path under the religious and spiritual guidance of that sheikh. The path of the aspirant is then guided by the order and its sheikh's educational and instructional methods, teachings and rituals of worship, which the aspirant must adhere to in his faith, worship, words and deeds.

A Sufi order is seen as an authority which governs, commands and prohibits. However, the strength of its authority expands and diminishes depending on the prevailing social conditions and political circumstances. It will gain strength or diminish in strength depending on the support, followers and funds it enjoys, and according to the strength of character and personality of its sheikh or its founder, his deeds and his influence. One should also take note that, according to the third definition mentioned above, the conditions of Sufism and what it evolved into during both the Ottoman and colonialist eras, depended on the perception that Sufi leaders had paranormal abilities and the ability to create miracles in order to attain the status of sheikh or elder[207].

It can be argued that the first Sufi order, which would emerge in an organized manner with clear attributes and characteristics, surfaced during the 6th century AH, or at the beginning of the 12th century AD[208]. From the time of their emergence, Sufi orders would be distinguished by three particular attributes[209]:

1. A founding sheikh or elder, who is the reference for all his aspirants and followers and who is considered the leader of the group and the organizer of the *rabita* or *ribat*[210];

2. A *tariqa* or path, or *madhab* or doctrine, prescribed by the founding sheikh or elder, including the rites, rituals, instructions and precedents set by him;

3. And, a specific type of relationship which ties the individual to the group – relations that, at times, can be very warm and close and, at other times, weak.

The manner in which these three particular attributes interact and synergize is what gives each Sufi order, *ribat* or sheikhdom its unique character, cohesion and strength. This synergy is then extended to every member in that order, *ribat* or sheikhdom in the form of a feeling or emotion that offers a sense of security, cohesiveness and strength to those who belong to that particular association[211].

The attributes of the Sufi order and its synergy would prove essential in the Arab and Islamic worlds, especially in areas and during eras shadowed by invasions, torn by war and divided by conflicts between ruling families vying over seats of power. Religious and theological differences, cultural and power struggles would further sever the bonds between ruling families, peoples and regions, creating a prevailing climate of stress and anxiety. In such an environment, belonging to a group where relationships were built and founded upon spiritual harmony would be something preciously coveted by people, and would help ease some of the burden of the depressing atmosphere overshadowing the lives of those living in these societies[212].

A Sufi order is often named after its most prominent sheikh or its founder. These names become immortalized in the connection made between these sheikhs or founders and their orders. The naming of an order is attributed to its most important sheikh or original founder, due to his scholarship, diligence, hard work and service devoted to the order. Indeed, the names of Sufi orders are given by aspirants, students, followers and devotees and not by the influence, request or command of the sheikh or founder. Each order's sheikh or founder, his doctrine and his activities, scholarship and diligence has a clear impact on the order and the manner in which its rituals are carried out, as well as on how its references are employed, and on the system of good manners

and moral character prescribed and ascribed to it and its aspirants and adherents[213].

With that, most orders do not limit themselves to the doctrines of their sheikhs or the sheikhs their orders were named after. Many other important figures are embraced and followed by different orders, such as Abu al-Qasim al-Junayd and Bayazid al-Bastami, who command significant influence over many orders and who are considered an integral part of the doctrines of many orders, such as the Naqshbandi Order[214]. Sufis, in general, focus on following certain successions, chains or lines of sheikhs and scholars, particularly following periods in which Sufism was losing stamina and required further reinforcement and support in order to acquire and maintain the respect of aspirants and the admiration of people. Generally, Sufism anchors its origins and substantiates itself in the many successions or lines of renowned Sufi scholars Sufism has produced between the time of its birth and the time organized Sufi orders began to emerge[215].

Sufi orders would evolve differently from early Sufism in that the orders would adopt a specific character and defined methodology for attaining self-annihilation or *fana'* and direct witnessing of God or *shuhud*. Although some Sufi orders were established before the Mongol invasion of 656 AH or 1258 AD, they actually began to multiply and branch out significantly across the Islamic world during the 14th century AD, with the first person to call for and to found an order being 'Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani in Baghdad[216].

Sufi orders then began to establish *zawaya*[217] which would evolve into havens, spaces of refuge and places for nurturing the education and the instruction of their followers and aspirants. With time, Sufi *zawaya* would develop into institutions of learning, where the mind, spirit and appetitive soul or corporeal self were disciplined, refined and educated. They would also provide social and humanitarian services, such as providing shelter for the old, widows, orphans, the poor, the needy, strangers and wayfarers. In this manner, *zawaya* came to be perceived as institutions that

defended and propagated certain lofty value systems and high standards of ethics and morality, while, at the same time, they safeguarded elements of the local identity of the places in which they were situated, and helped preserve and maintain the character of the Arab identity during both the Ottoman and colonialist eras. Indeed, *zawayas* came to represent institutions which stood fast against cultural invasions and missionary campaigns[218]. They evolved into spiritual, economic and social forces in society where pilgrims and visitors found refuge, shelter and a place of worship and meditation, as well as places where people were exposed to enlightened advice and religious guidance, including instruction on the path of virtue and the manner in which to shun the path of vice[219].

Proliferation of the Paths of God

There is little dispute over the character that Islamic Sufism developed during its earliest years. It was an individual and personal spiritual experience embraced by a marginal few of an elite nature. The early Sufis were persons who preferred to seclude and withdraw themselves from society and they maintained a form of strict self-introspection. They internalized piety and practiced asceticism, shunning the corporeal world and choosing a path that drew them nearer to God and the Hereafter.

However, in the 5th century AH or 11th century AD, Sufism would enter into a new phase where it began to manifest itself in a manner that was more popular and less elite in expression. By the 6th century AH, this popular manifestation of Sufism would transform into an extensive social phenomenon which would propagate itself and spread across the Arab and Islamic worlds. Its presence and influence would strengthen and increase until the 11th century AH or 17th century AD, after which it again transformed itself into the Sufism of “orders” that spread amongst the masses.

The first Sufi order, which would emerge in an organized manner with clear attributes and characteristics, surfaced during the 6th century AH or, at the beginning of the 12th century AD[220]. From the time of their emergence, Sufi orders would be distinguished by three particular attributes[221]: a founding sheikh or elder, a *tariqa* or path based on a specific *madhab* or doctrine, and a particular relationship which ties the individual to the group. Indeed, the way in which these three attributes interact and synergize is what gives

each Sufi order its unique character, sense of unity and strength, which is then extended to every member in that order in the form of a feeling or emotion that offers a sense of security, cohesiveness and strength to those who belong to that particular order[222].

Sufism in Jordan is an integral part of the Sufism of the Arab and the Islamic worlds and is a natural extension of its history and of its geography. If the assumption is that all divine spiritual paths are spawned from the roots of one institution or one manifest doctrine, then Sufi orders, similarly, can be considered the offspring of a "mother order". Finally, local orders represent branches of a "mother order" in "the Sufi way" to which aspirants belong. These aspirants will follow and adhere to the methodology and doctrine of the founding sheikh or elder of the "mother order".

Of course, branches and orders weaken or disappear altogether while still others emerge. Some branches and orders merge with others. In all cases, Sufi orders and branches continue to change, evolve and transform themselves. Some orders and branches regress or dwindle off quickly while others continue to grow and gain in their strength and in their ability to attract new sheikhs, aspirants and followers.

Within this context, and prior to any attempt to specifically examine and better understand the representation of Sufi orders, their sheikhs and their followers in Jordan, one must first gain a basic, general understanding about the more important and the larger of the Islamic Sufi orders, their *zawaya* and the breadth of their influence and reach[223].

From the beginning, Iraq has been considered the cradle of Sufism. It is most probable that the Qadiri Order, founded by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani (d. 561 AH/1166 AD) in Baghdad, is one of the oldest of the Sufi orders in existence today. Al-Gilani originally came from Gilan, in what is today northwestern Iran. He travelled to Baghdad seeking an education in the Hanbali School of Islamic jurisprudence[224], in the Hadith and in Sufism. After receiving his

education, he would leave Baghdad and lead a life of asceticism and austerity for almost 20 years, after which he returned once again to the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate. Upon his return to Baghdad, al-Gilani proceeded to provide instruction and religious guidance, winning wide acclaim and attracting many students and a vast following. He authored the work, "*al-ghunya li-talibi tariq al-haqq wa al-din*" (lit., "Sufficient Provision for Seekers of the Path of Truth and Religion"), a book which is considered an extensive guide to the rules and the principles of the manners, behavior and code of conduct of Sufis. Over the span of Sufism's historical evolution, the Qadiri Order would expand and spread its reach to all corners of the Islamic world.

One of the other orders that emerged during the same period as the Gilani Order is the Rifa'i Order, founded by Sheikh Ahmad al-Rifa'i (d. 577 AH/1182 AD). Sheikh Rifa'i established a *zawya* in southern Iraq which attracted thousands of students and aspirants. His teachings and his doctrine called for modesty and humility and advocated strict adherence to the Prophet's Sunna and the Islamic *shari'a*. Similar to the Gilani Order, the Rifa'i Order would spread to all corners of the Islamic world. However, after the 7th century AH, some of the followers of the Rifa'i Order would introduce certain practices into Sheikh Rifa'i's teachings and doctrine which did not concur or comply with his precedents or original manner of instruction and guidance, such as "*darb al-shish*" –a ritual where iron skewers are used to puncture the skin–, as well as other practices, such as walking on burning coals and into fires and swallowing snakes and snake venom.

The Suhrawardi Order is the third largest order to emerge from Iraq at the hands of its founding sheikh, Shahab al-Din 'Umar al-Suhrawardi (d. 631 AH/1234 AD) who was also a student of al-Gilani. Suhrawardi is unique in that he rejected complicated theological principles and philosophy; instead, he called for strict adherence to a life of asceticism, piety and spirituality. He opposed the philosophical Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi and called for a moderate, Sunni form of Sufism. Indeed, due to his approach to

Islam and Sufism, his doctrine would even spread outside Sufi circles. Al-Suhrawardi authored the book "*'awarif al-ma'arif*" (lit., "The Benefits of Gnosis", otherwise known in English as "The Gifts of Deep Knowledge"), which is considered one of the most important and comprehensive Sufi treatises, as it presents a cohesive and complete reflection on Sufism and expounds upon Sufi practices from their origins in the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunna. Suhrawardi's Sufism is specifically characterized by its asceticism and moderation, in its references in the Sunna and in its adherence to the heritage of early Sufism – to such an extent that, in Egypt, the Suhrawardi Order is known as the "Order of al-Junayd". "The Gifts of Deep Knowledge" was translated into all the different languages of the Islamic world and contributed significantly to the manner in which Sufi orders are governed and organized. Similar to the Gilani and Rifa'i Orders, the Suhrawardi Order would spread to all corners of the Islamic world. Meanwhile, west of the Mashreq[225], another group of great Sufi schools, sheikhs and elders would emerge from the Arab Maghreb[226] and Andalusia. At first, the Sufism of this part of the Islamic world would be manifested in an individual form of practice due to the predominance of the Maliki[227] madhab in these areas, which was strongly opposed to Sufism. The adversity of the Malikis to the Sufis went to the extent that "*ihya' ulum ad-din*" ("The Revival of Religious Sciences") by al-Ghazali would actually be burned in Cordoba.

Ibn Masarra Muhammad Bin 'Abd Allah (d. 319 AH/931 AD) is considered the first Sufi elder to find prominence amongst the Andalusian Sufis. His influence would clearly mark the Almeria School, which was saturated in Neo-Platonist philosophical elements, and would pave the way for the rise of Sufism and Sufi orders in that part of the world. Another very important scholar of the Almeria school was Ibn al-'Arif (d. 536 AH/1143 AD), who authored the book "*mahasin al-majalis*" (lit., "The Virtues of Mystical Assemblies"). Indeed, Sufism in the Mashreq would be greatly influenced by the doctrine and teachings of Ibn 'Arif. During that same period, Ibn Barrajan (d. 318/931) emerged in Seville,

where he also contributed significantly to the spread of Sufism in that area. Meanwhile, Ibn Barrajan would face fierce opposition from Muslm jurists and theologists, as did his contemporary, Ibn Qasi (d. 546 AH/1151 AD), who suffered the same kind of harsh adversity.

Another of the more renowned Andalusian-Maghrebi Sufi scholars was Abu Madyan Shu'ayb (d. 576 AH/1198 AD), who was greatly influenced by Imam al-Ghazali. Abu Maydan Shu'ayb would travel to the Mashreq, seeking knowledge and instruction in Sufism, only to return and settle in Bejaia, Algeria. His doctrine and order would be characterized by asceticism, the disciplining of the Sufi's manners and conduct, and in reforming the Sufi's appetitive soul and corporeal self. His aspirants and students were great in number; and, it were his aspirants who would take on the task of spreading the doctrine of Shu'ayb's order eastward, to the Mashreq.

Finally, of the most important figures to emerge from amongst the Andalusian Sufis was Ibn 'Arabi (593 AH/1196 AD) from the Murcia School of Sufism. Indeed, Ibn 'Arabi is considered one of the most important scholars to emerge from Sufism, in general. His philosophy, metaphysical theories, doctrines and works had, and still have, an immense influence and impact on the Arab and Islamic worlds in their entirety.

Of the largest Sufi orders which would emerge from the Arab Maghreb is the Shadhili Order, founded by Abu al-Hassan al-Shadhili (d. 656 AH/1258 AD). Like many of his Maghrebi predecessors, al-Shadhili would travel to the Mashreq, seeking knowledge from the leading spiritual sages of his time. Instead, he found his mentor, 'Abd al-Salam Bin Mashish (d. 625 AH/1228 AD), in the Moroccan countryside. Bin Mashish was a devout worshipper and believer in the unity of the Divine, whose *zawya* rested on the crest of a mountain – a *zawya*, which, until this day, is a focal point for visitors, aspirants and followers. Shadhili later went into seclusion in the mountain ranges that lie between the

cities of Tunis and Kairouan, near a village called “al-Shadhila”, to which many attribute his name. He, however, understood his name to be a spiritual sign that signified “turning away from” or “shunning” the corporeal world and lower life and instead, turning towards God – based on the lexical root of the Arabic verb “*shadha*” (lit., “to deviate from” or “to be an exception to”).

Al-Shadhili and his order would gain great popularity due to the simplicity of his doctrine. However, it was this simplicity and this popularity which would cast the wrath and enmity of Muslim jurists upon him. And, due to the harsh persecution he was subjected to, he was forced to leave the Maghreb and finally settled in Alexandria, Egypt in 641 AD or 1244 AD.

Al-Shadhili’s order and doctrine are simply founded on the principle of divesting oneself of the internal and of devoting oneself to God in concerted remembrance of Him (a practice known as *dhikr*). Al-Shadhili also urged his followers to remain an integrated and functional part of society, while faithfully adhering to the Islamic *shari’a* and emulating the Prophet’s Sunna. Indeed, these were the conditions required for being allowed into his order, with one of al-Shadhili’s most renowned disciples being Abu al-Abbas al-Mursi (d. 686 AH/1287 AD). Finally, al-Shadhili was not concerned with the philosophical and metaphysical matters developed by scholars such as Ibn ‘Arabi; and, he did not leave behind any traces of written works. However, despite this lack of textual references, his spiritual influence is clear in his litanies, the most famous of which is “*hizb al-bahr*”, known in English as “Incantation of the Sea”.

One of his later followers, the Egyptian, Ibn ‘Ata’Allah, worked on developing the Shadhili doctrine and expanding the scope of its reach until it spread to the rest of the Islamic world. These efforts by Ibn ‘Ata’Allah were notwithstanding the famous texts he would author, such as “*al-hukum al-‘ata’iya*”, known in English as “Compilation of Aphorisms [of Ibn ‘Ata’Allah]”, and “*kitab lata’if al-minan*”, known in English as “[The Key to Salvation:] A Sufi

Manual of Invocation". "Compilations of Aphorisms", today, is viewed as representing the first systematic compendium on the spiritual heritage and practice of *dhikr*, as well as the doctrinal reference for the Shadhili Order.

Another spiritual pillar of the Shadhili Order was ‘Abd al-Razzaq al-Jazouli (d. between 869 AH/1465 AD and 874 AH/1470 AD) who was a disciple of Abu Madyan. Al-Jazouli authored a composition on a prayer for the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in his book "*dala'il al-khayrat*", known in English as "The Waymarks of Benefits", which has become a reference for Muslims across the Arab and the Islamic worlds. Yet another of the greater Shadhili sheikhs was Ahmad Zarruq, from the city of Fes, whose most renowned texts include "*qawa'id al-tasawwuf"* (lit., "The Principles of Sufism"*)* and "*‘uddat al-murid al-sadiq*" (lit., "Tools for the Sincere Aspirant").

The Sufi orders of the Maghreb would spread to Egypt and Damascus after the 7th century AH through Alexandria, which became a conduit for many Sufis from the Maghreb, such as ‘Abd al-Razzaq al-Jazouli (d. 594 AH/1198 AD), who worked to spread the Shadhili Order across both banks of the Nile. Two of his followers, the Moroccan Sheikh, ‘Abd al-Rahim (d. 592 AH/1196 AD) (Qana, Egypt) and the Egyptian Abu al-Hajjaj (d. 641 AH/1244 D in Luxor, Egypt) are still considered amongst the more important Sufi elders or saints in Egypt.

Ibn ‘Arabi would join the wave of migrants who travelled from the Maghreb to the Mashreq through the same conduit. However, Ibn 'Arabi would not establish a specific order despite the fact that his impact is clear and profound on almost all the Sufi orders established after the 7th century AH. On the other hand, another very important Andalusian Sufi, Ibn Sab'in (d. 667 AH/1268 AD) took this initiative and established the doctrine and order of "*al-wihda al-mutlaqa*" **or "The Absolute Unity of Existence"**[228]. One of Ibn Sab'in's most renowned followers was Abu al-Hassan al-Shushtari (d. 668 AH/1269 AD), also an Andalusian.

The Shadhili Order would later evolve into two branches, the Hanafi[229] and the Wafa'i[230] branches; and, the influence of both would persist within the Sufi scene in Egypt. Indeed, virtually all of Egypt was split between these two branches, even during the Ottoman era. Eventually, the Shadhili doctrine spread to and permeated many circles of Muslim scholars across the Arab and Islamic worlds, even those who did not consider themselves part of the realm of Sufism.

Another order which would acquire significant influence in Egypt was the Ahmadi Order, sometimes also referred to as the Badawi Order, which is rooted in the doctrine and teachings of Ahmad al-Badawi (d. 674 AH/1276 AD), who was of Moroccan origin. Al-Badawi settled in Tanta on the Nile Delta, and he is alleged to have never left his balcony until the end of his days; and, hence, the name bestowed upon his aspirants, "*al-sutuhiyya*" (those of the roofs or the "roofers"). In contrast to the Shadhili Order, the Ahmadi or Badawi Order would spread mostly to rural areas and amongst the more popular classes. The Burhani Order would also create a presence in Egypt, with the Burhani Order tracing its origins to its founder, Burhan al-Din al-Disuqi (d. 687 AH/1288 AH), who himself belonged to several orders.

Meanwhile, during the 6th and 7th centuries AH, the area of Greater Syria[231] would fall under the influence of the Iraqi schools of Sufism, after the migration of many of the followers of the Qadiri Order to that area. The Burhani Order would also create a significant presence for itself in Greater Syria, taking root amongst Hanbali scholars there. By the 9th century AH, Syrian Sufism would also be nurtured by sources from the Maghreb, such as the Shadhili Order, in addition to other forms of Sufism which spread over from the Caucasus and Central Asia, such as the Naqshbandi Order – which, today, is still one of the most widespread orders in the areas which were once part of Greater Syria.

In Central Asia, Sufi orders also emerged, such as the Kalandri Order, whose foundations would be built upon integrating and combining concepts from Islam, other religions and Hindu-Buddhist asceticism. Locally, the Kalandri Order would be protected by the Farsi Prince Jamal al-Din al-Sawi (d. 629 AH/1232 AD); and, under the patronage of this prince, the order would spread throughout Anatolia and the Middle East. However, later, this particular order would alienate itself from people in the Arab and Islamic worlds due to its deviation from normative Islamic practices and teachings, such as drinking alcohol, using hashish and homosexual practices, as well as other conduct considered alien to the word and spirit of the Holy Qur'an.

Another order to emerge from Central Asia was the Kubrawi Order, which traces its origins back to Najm al-Din Kubra (d. 618 AH/1221 AD) from Khwarezm (today, part of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan). He would earn the name "*kubra*"[232] in an allusion to, or as an elliptic form of the Qur'anic expression "*al-tamma al-kubra*" meaning "the major disaster", which was a nickname that alluded to Kubra's great skills and wit as a debater and theorist, and for his powerful ability to refute any opponent[233].

Despite al-Kubra's association with Iraqi Sufism, he was able to found an expressedly Sunni order. However, after his death, many of his followers adopted Shiism, with this trend continuing after the 10th century AH, when other Sunni-Sufi orders in Iran would also adopt Shiism. As a prelude to this tendency, in the 9th century AH, a Shiite branch of the Kubrawi Order would emerge in Iran, known as the Nurbakhshi Order, whose origins are traced back to Muhammad Nurbakhsh (d. 869 AH/1464 AD). However, when Muhammad Nurbakhsh declared that he was the "*mehdi al-muntather*" (the Awaited, Rising or Guided One)[234], his political movement ended in failure. Today, there is a branch in Shiraz which is called the Dhahabi Order, after the name "the Dhahabiyya" given to those followers who left the Nurbakhshi Order and renounced claims of "Mehdism".

The progressive trend towards adopting Shiism was also apparent in the Nimatallah Order, whose origins are traced back to Shah Nimatallah Wali (d. 834 AH/1431 AD). Shah Nimatallah Wali studied Islamic sciences in Shiraz, which was the Sunni stronghold in Iran, at that time. During his pilgrimage to Mecca, Wali became a student of ‘Abd Allah al-Yafi (d. 768 AH/1367 AD), after which he returned to a city near Samarkand, where a large group of aspirants and students flocked around him, and where he would gain much fame. In turn, those envious of his fame betrayed him to the Sultan, and al-Wali was forced to move and finally settled in Karaman. Thereafter, in the 13th century AH, followers of his order continued to suffer persecution with some fleeing while the majority turned to Shiism.

Meanwhile, the Naqshbandi Order would also emerge in Central Asia and would evolve into one of the most eminent and widespread orders there. Furthermore, the Naqshbandi Order would become one of the Sufi orders which was able to preserve and maintain its Sunni orientation and confront the tide of the trend towards Shiism. The order considers itself the direct heir of the Khurasani doctrine[235] and the school of the Mulamati[236] linked to it, which focuses great attention on asceticism, piety, devotion to God and reforming the inner (self). The Mulamati were organized under the patronage of Baha’uddin Naqshband (d. 791 AH/1389 AD), whereas the Naqshbandi Order considers ‘Abd al-Khaliq al-Ghujdawani the true sheikh of the order. Indeed, al-Ghujdawani would introduce a form of Sunna to the order, which was intrinsically focused on *dhikr* or remembrance of God, or what the order calls “Essential *Dhikr”* and “*Dhikr* of the Heart”[237], based on the example of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq[238], with these particular forms of *dhikr*[239] becoming the distinguishing mark of this order.

The followers of the Naqshbandi Order would also establish a set of rules that they practice, which are present, in one form or another, in every path of Sufism, such as “*muraqabat al-khutuwat*” or “watching your step”, also known as “*nazar bar qadam*”; “*muhasabat al-nafs*” or “holding the self and appetitive soul accountable” or “self-censure”; and, “*khalwa fil julwa*” which

is literally “seclusion in unveiling”, also known by the order as “*khalwat dar anjuman*”[240] or “solitude in the crowd”; amongst others. The underlying principle of this order’s doctrine is the heed paid to ensuring harmony between the spirit of Islam, Islamic *shari’a* and one’s conduct. Indeed, it was through the advocacy of this doctrine that the order was able to preserve the practice of the Sunna amongst the Muslims of Central Asia.

In the 9th century AH, under the guidance and leadership of Sheikh Khwaja Ahrar[241] (d. 895 AH/1490 AD), the Naqshbandi Order was able to surpass and eclipse all other Sufi orders in Central Asia. Indeed, Sheik Ahrar’s efforts led to the establishment of a vast economic network that protected peasants from oppressive taxation, in addition to the fact that Sheikh Ahrar called forth on politicians and leaders to show respect for Islamic teachings. Subsequently, the Naqshbandi Order was able to extend its reach to the Caucasus, Kurdistan and Anatolia, where the order curried the favor of the Ottoman sultans.

The order’s influence would extend to the Arab world and to the Indian Subcontinent at the hands of Mujaddid-e-Alf Thaani al-Hijri Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1032 AH/1624 AD). Sirhindi’s book “*maktoubat*”**, a collection of 536 letters collectively entitled “Collected Letters” in English or “Maktoubat”, is considered the definitive guide and treatise governing the Naqshbandi Order until this day. In this acclaimed book, the author affirms and stresses the need for the return to the Islamic** *shari’a* **and for emulating the ways of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The book also calls on politicians and leaders to apply the provisions and precedents set by Islamic jurisprudence. By the 11th century AH, Sirhandi’s (Naqshbandi-) Mujaddidi branch had extended its reach to China, the Arabian Peninsula and Indonesia. Indeed, the order remains one of the most extensive and widespread orders followed in the Islamic world, to date.**

Sufi orders would also spread within the Caucasus, with the al-Khalwati Order at the fore. The name of the Khalwati Order itself is derived from the Arabic term "*khalwa*", meaning seclusion, retreat or isolation, with this particular practice becoming the distinguishing mark of the order. The Khalwati Order traces its origins back to 'Umar al-Khalwati (d. 799 AH/1397 AD), who was a Sufi elder that gained this title due to his love of solitude and for isolating himself from others inside the trunk of a tree. However, as an established and institutionalized association, the order itself is credited to Yahya al-Shirwani (d. 867 AH/1463 AD), who also hailed from the Caucasus. Due to the vast number of the order's followers, al-Shirwani worked to build a hierarchical structure for the order.

The Khalwati Order was able to curry the favor of the Ottoman sultans after it was introduced to the Anatolia region at the end of the 9th century AH. Thereafter, it spread to other countries under Ottoman control, particularly Egypt, from whence it spread to the rest of the Arab world. The particularly elevated status of this order was evidenced in the fact that Ottoman Sultan Muhammad al-Fateh's spiritual teacher was a Khalwati sheikh. Indeed, the Khalwati Order is considered enlightened in its adherence to the Sunna and in its doctrine advocating progressive attainment through the practice of *dhikr*, or the constant remembrance of God and of His Attributes.

The Safavi (pronounced in Arabic as Safawi) Order emerged in the 8th century AH at the hands of its founder, Safi-Ad-Din Ardabili (d. 734 AH/1334 AD). This order shares geographical and instructional origins with the Khalwati Order. It was also a Sunni order in origin, until its sheikhs adopted Shiism at the end of the 9th century AH. Thereafter, Shah Ismail (d. 930 AH/1524 AD) came to power and established the Safavid Dynasty, under which he would unify Iran and convert it to Twelver Shi'a Islam as he worked to drive out Sunni Sufism.

On the Indian Subcontinent, the Chishti Order emerged, tracing its origins back to Mu'inaddin al-Chishti (d. 633 AH/1236 AD). The Chishti Order would spread across all of Islamic India under the leadership and guidance of Nizamuddin Auliya (d. 724 AH/1324 AD), with one of his most renowned students being the great poet, Amir Khusro. The disciples and aspirants of the Chishti Order would be distinguished in their unique form of Indo-Persian Sufism, which was marked by its tolerance and openness to Hinduism.

In the 8th and 9th century AH, other major branches and orders began to emerge which followed the example of early Sufism, such as the Shatiri Order. The Shatiri Order was established by 'Abd Allah al-Shatiri (d. 890 AH/1485 AD), who was famed for walking with his aspirants in a black military uniform, accompanied by the beating of drums.

In Anatolia, Sufi orders would also proliferate, with the Sufism of Jalaluddin al-Rumi (d. 672 AH/1273 AD) having a particularly significant impact in that region. Indeed, Rumi's form of Sufism was distinctly marked by a cosmic nature due to the message of love Rumi adopted, which went beyond the usual scope and paradigm of Sufi orders. And, the Mevlevi (known in Arabic as Mawlawi) Order is considered the most extensive and influential order in this area. Rumi's eldest son, Baha'uddin Muhammad-i Walad, often referred to as Sultan Walad (d. 718 AH/1321 AD), is considered the founder of the Mevlevi Order. Sultan Walad would establish certain tenets for the order such as the Sama' dance ceremony, or the famous whirling devotional dances (of the Dervishes), accompanied by music, singing, mantras and chanting of *dhikr* or remembrance of God, and which, for Mevlevi aspirants, represents a highly poignant form of Sufi spiritual exercise[242].

The home and center of the Mevlevi Order is the city of Konya, where aspirants flock around the mausoleum of Mawlana[243] Jalaluddin al-Rumi. From the 9th century AH or 15th century AD onwards, the Ottomans would employ the Mevlevi Order to serve

their interests in confronting Sufis who opposed Ottoman rule in the mountains of Anatolia. The Mevlevi Order would later spread across many other regions of the Islamic world.

However, during that same period – or in the 9th century AH or 15th century AD –, Sufi orders in the Islamic world would witness a spiritual regression and a scholarly degeneration. Much of Sufism was transformed into a mode of popular religiosity which was replete with superstitions and increasing ignorance and which deviated from its original path. In turn, these negative transformations would also provoke the emergence of reform currents which called for the restoration, revival and renewal of Sufism, and for purging it of the heresies and the flawed practices which had accumulated over the passage of time.

From within these reform currents, numerous revivalist scholars would emerge who focused their energies and efforts on reintroducing reform into already established orders or, in some cases, establishing new orders altogether. One of these scholars was Sheikh Ali Bin Maymoun al-Fasi (916 AH/1511 AD) who called for a return to a disciplined adherence to the provisions of the Islamic *shari'a*, and who protested against the corruption of scholars and the degeneration of the doctrine. However, despite the overall degenerative condition of Sufism, the Ottoman era did witness certain positive manifestations and transformations, as Sufi thought had become an integral part of Islamic culture, embodied by Sufis such as 'Abd al-Ghani Nabulsi (d. 1134 AH/1731 AD) who belonged to two orders, but enjoyed an intellectual independence which earned him credit in all the different Islamic disciplines.

The 18th and 19th centuries AD would witness some of the most important efforts to revive and to modernize Sufism, all of which were embodied in the call to reform through a return to Sufism's roots and to its adherence to the Holy Qur'an and the Sunna. These revivalist efforts were recognized by the term, the "Muhammadian way", which represented a return to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as the role model and adhering to the path of virtues set by his example.

One of the more important of revivalist reformers was Sheikh al-Maghrebi al-Arabi al-Darqawi (d. 1238 AH/1823 AD) who focused his attentions on spirituality from a pragmatic perspective and not on the theoretical levels which were characteristic of early Sufism. He stressed upon simple non-involvement in worldly affairs and on asceticism; and, in this message, al-Darqawi contributed significantly to the development of the Shadhili Order and its branches, including the Shadhili-Darqawi, Madani, Yashruti and 'Alawi [Alawite] Orders – all of which are orders that, today, enjoy an extensive and significant presence in the Islamic world, including Jordan.

Another of the more renowned revivalist sheikhs was Mustafa al-Bakri (d. 1162 AH/174 AD) who introduced extensive reforms into the Khalwati Order and who contributed to the spread of that order on a wider scale. In the second half of the 18th century AD, some of al-Bakri's most important disciples would emerge on the Sufi revivalist scene, including Sheikhs Hafni and Dardir, with the latter becoming one of the most important scholars at al-Azhar Mosque[244]. These sheikhs and their approach to modern Sufism contributed to distinguishing the Khalwati Order's close affiliation to the Sunna and to a revivalist spirit in that.

The Naqshbandi Order would also produce its fair share of revivalist scholars, including Mawlana Khalid Naqshbandi (d. 1242 AH/1827 AD) who was of Kurdish origin but resided in Damascus. Mawlana Khalid adopted the reformative line of Ahmad al-Sirhandi and enriched the order with new scholarly methods which called for adherence to the provisions of the Islamic *shari'a*. Of Mawlana Khalid's most eminent students was the great Islamist Hanafi[245] jurist Ibn 'Abdin (d. 1251 AH/1836 AD). The Naqshbandi-Khalidi Order would extend its influence to the Caucasus, where the order would play an important role in organizing the armed resistance against the Russian invasion. Indeed, Imam Shamil (d. 1275 AH/1859 AD), who remained loyal to Sheikh Khalid al-Naqshbandi until his death, remains one of the most famous symbols of the resistance in the Caucasus.

Another of the more eminent revivalist Sufi scholars was Ahmad Ibn Idris (d. 1252 AH/1837 AD) who taught Islamic disciplines in Fes and who belonged to many branches of different Sufi orders, such as the Shadhili and Madani Orders. He later settled in Mecca where he called for a return to the Holy Qur'an and the Sunna, and for *ijtihad*[246] without the mediation of the *madhabs* and doctrines of the different Islamic schools of jurisprudence. He also vehemently fought tradition. His approach infuriated Islamist jurists and he was eventually forced to move, settling in the region of Asir in Yemen. Despite the fact that he did not leave behind any written texts, his strong character and personality and his wealth of knowledge enriched Sufism and contributed to the spread of its orders in the Arab and Islamic worlds.

The person considered closest to Ibn Idris was Muhammad al-Sanousi (1275 AH/1859 AD) who was born in Algeria, and who was also a student of Islamic studies in Fes. After completing his studies, al-Sanousi moved to the Arabian Peninsula and later, established the Sanousi Order in Libya and its surrounding desert regions. In the 19th century AD, the Sanousi Order would adopt armed resistance against the Italian colonizers in Libya, the English in Egypt and the French in Algeria and Nigeria.

The Tijani Order is another important manifestation of revivalist Sufism, which was established by Ahmad Tijani (d. 1230 AH/1815 AD), who came from the Tlemcen region in northwestern Algeria. Tijani was a student of Islamic studies in Fes and would educate himself in the doctrines of many Sufi orders. In 1782 AD, he claimed that he saw the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in a dream and that he was commanded by the Prophet in this dream to establish his own order. He also claimed to be the last of the Sufi elders. He considered the Tijani Order as both complementary and superior to all previously established Sufi orders, and prohibited his aspirants from joining any other order. He also proclaimed that any aspirant who deviated from his order or disobeyed his commands would be subject to divine punishment and possibly even death. Indeed, his claims and proclamations would provoke the wrath

of both Sufis and Islamic jurists. However, Tijani would enjoy the patronage of the royal family while he resided in Fes; and thus, he was able to disseminate his order throughout Morocco, and would establish an extensive network there. His paradigm was similar to that of the Shadhili Order in that he did not oblige his students to renounce worldly pleasures, but rather called on them to give constant thanks for these blessings. Indeed, he himself lived a life of affluence and comfort.

After the death of Tijani, the Tijani Order would spread to Muslim West Africa (Senegal, Guinea and Mali) through the efforts of followers such as ‘Umar Tal (d. 1280 AH/1864 AD). Under ‘Umar Tal’s leadership, the Tijani Order was able to establish an Islamic state in parts of West Africa[247], which was eventually toppled by the French in 1893 AD. The order was introduced into Sudan by the Mauritanian missionary Muhammad Bin al-Mukhtar (d. 1299 AH/1882 AD), and would spread extensively throughout the country. Today, the Tijani Order is considered the largest Sufi order in all of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Finally, one of the most important Sufi reformers to emerge in the 20th century AD was Sheikh Ahmad al-‘Alawi (d. 1352 AH/1934 AD) who was an Algerian born in Mostaghanem. Sheikh ‘Alawi worked to reform Sufism by abandoning certain practices followed by Sufi orders and by focusing on the basic tenets of Sufism, which are *dhikr* or remembrance of God and His Attributes and excellence and strength of intellect and spirit. His character, scholarly choices and aptitude contributed to a rupture between him and the Shadhili-Darqawi Order and led him to establish his own order, known as the ‘Alawi or Alawite Order. In 1923, he began to publish a periodical journal, the objectives of which were to inspire an Islamic renaissance and to advocate reformative Islam in Algeria. The publication also strongly advocated against French colonialism and Christian missionaries and missionary movements. He established the first league of scholars in Algeria, in cooperation with Salafi reformers who were led by Ibn Badis. Thereafter, a conflict between al-‘Alawi and the Salafi reformers

took place, which provoked a relentless and indiscriminate attack by the latter against Sufism and Sufi orders. Despite these conflicts, Sheikh ‘Alawi continued to advocate an enlightened, spiritual vision of Islam in the Islamic and Western worlds, and held to the doctrine of *wihdat al-wujud* or the transcendent Unity of Existence (of God); or Oneness of Being. Indeed, his work and way of thought had a great impact on many countries in the Arab and Islamic worlds, as well as many in the West, especially France.

Sufi Orders in Jordan

Sufis consider Jordan a spiritual center and a fertile environment for Sufism. Indeed, it was upon the lands of Jordan that almost 1,000 of the Prophet's Companions or *sahaba*[248] were martyred. Twenty of these *sahaba* have recognized and marked shrines in the Mu'tah area – an area in Jordan where the famed Battle of Mu'tah took place in 629 AD (8th century AH) between the Muslims and the Romans. Thus and accordingly, Jordan's lands are considered hallowed grounds[249].

According to Sufis, Jordan was also witness to vast and dynamic religious advancements and movements throughout its religious history. Many religious texts further attest to these lands being blessed, such as that which is stated in the following Qur'anic verses, "*And We delivered him and Lot to the land which We had blessed for the worlds*"[250]; "*And to Solomon [We subjected] the wind, blowing forcefully, proceeding by his command toward the land which We had blessed. And We are ever, of all things, Knowing*"[251]; and, "*Exalted is He who took His Servant by night from al-Masjid al-Haram to al-Masjid al-Aqsa, whose surroundings We have blessed, to show him of Our signs. Indeed, He is the Hearing, the Seeing*"[252].

Indeed, Jordan includes hallowed lands upon which the majority of the Prophets and Apostles tread, some of whom lived and died, and were buried there. Jordan is also the scene of many of the narratives recorded in the Holy Qur'an and home to the shrines of the Prophet Shu'ayb, the Prophet Moses, Saint George, the

Prophet Noah and the Prophet Hud (Peace Be Upon All of Them). It houses the cave and monastery in which Lot and his family sought refuge, as well as the shrines of Aaron, Joshua, Solomon, Job, John the Baptist and Jesus Christ (Peace Be Upon All of Them). Furthermore, Jordan is associated with certain historical and religious links and manifestations related to Sufism, where shrines of great Sufi scholars such as al-Junayd and Suleiman al-Darani exist; thus and accordingly, in the eyes of Sufis, Jordan is considered one of the lands of their righteous ancestors[253].

Jordan would live through the experience of Sufism in a manner similar to that of the rest of the Islamic world. Indeed, it would experience Islamic Sufism's course of historical development and its profound transformations, from being an individual, personal manifestation of religiosity in the 7th century AD which, by the 11th century AH, would evolve into a social phenomenon that would find constancy in the form of popular orders by the 17th century AD, during the Ottoman era, when the Ottoman state embraced and internalized Islamic Sufism ideologically.

The ease of movement between territories in the Islamic world contributed to the settling of certain families and groups with a long Sufi tradition and lineage in Jordan. These Sufi families and groups came to Jordan from all four corners of the Islamic world, particularly from Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Anatolia. These migrants to Jordan included the likes of the Rifa'i, Zughbi, 'Amri, Rababa'a, Mustarihi, Mulqawi, Samadi, Kilani and Ja'aifirah groups and families, amongst others[254]; with the latter notwithstanding the many Circassian, Chechen and Kurdish families who also migrated to and settled permanently in Jordan.

With the advent of the 19th century AD, certain patterns of popular socio-religiosity prevailed within Jordanian society in the context of the transformations affecting Islam and the region at that time. Indeed, much of this context and these transformations were attributed to the emergence of many, different literal, interpretive and gnostic readings of Islam. Other factors contributing to this

context included the progressive disintegration and final collapse of the Ottoman state that was taking place at the same time as the rise of the colonial period, which also contributed to the weakening of traditional social structures in society. With the rise of the nation-state and under the impact of modernization policies, these traditional structures continued in their path of accelerated fragmentation.

Modern Sufism was introduced into Jordanian society at the end of the 19th century AD, during the last stages of Ottoman rule. Indeed, it was the Ottoman state which would send sheikhs and muftis[255] who belonged to the school of Islamic Sufism to Jordan, such as Sheikh Mustafa al-Kilani, who settled in the Jordanian city of al-Salt. Sheikh Kilani was a mufti and teacher who belonged to the Qadiri Order; however, he did not leave behind much in the way of students or sheikhs from his order at the time of his death in 1891.

In turn, Sheikh Muhammad al-Ghudhuf would be considered one of the first personalities to work towards the spread of Sufism in Jordan, from the moment he arrived in al-Salt from Mauritania in 1910. Indeed, tens of students and aspirants would flock to al-Ghudhuf to receive instruction in the ways of the Shadhili Order.

Meanwhile, other students and aspirants took to the order of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Halim al-Kilani, who was unable to receive instruction in the Qadiri Order from his father, Sheikh Mustafa, because ‘Abd al-Halim had been too young when his father died. Instead, the young Sheikh Kilani adopted the ways of the Naqshbandi Order, which he learned from Sheikh Nimatallah Naqshbandi, who came from Damascus to settle in Jordan. Later, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Halim al-Kilani would also become the representative of the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood in al-Salt, with correspondence continuing between him and Hassan al-Banna, the founder of the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, until al-Banna’s death. After his death, in 1968, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Halim al-Kilani’s order was turned over to the leadership and guidance of Sheikh Muhammad Amin Fahim Mustafa al-Kilani[256].

At the turn of the 20th century AD or before the establishment of the Emirate, the Shadhili-Ghudhufi-Qadiri Order would be considered one of the first and oldest of Sufi orders to be introduced into Jordan. The original founder of this particular order was Sheikh Muhammad al-Ghudhuf al-Daoudi from Mauritania. However, credit for the introduction of the order into Jordan itself is attributed mainly to Sharif[257] Muhammad al-Amin Bin Zein al-Qalqami, who established a *zawya*[258] near the city of Amman around which several East Bank tribes and clans flocked. Sheikh Qalqami is also credited for developing the areas of al-Rashidiyeh and al-Tafila in Jordan in the 1920s. At one point, al-Qalqami traveled to Turkey to fight on the side of the Turks. He passed away in 1969, leaving behind his son Zein al-'Abidin al-Qalqami as successor to the order. However, soon after being appointed successor, Zein al-'Abidin al-Qalqami would leave Jordan for Mauritania to fight against the French colonizers there.

In another account, Sheikh 'Ayesh al-Hawyan attributes the introduction of the order to Jordan to a Moroccan scholar, whose name remains unknown. This Moroccan scholar instructed Sheikh Fallah al-Hunayti in the ways of the order; and, after receiving instruction from the anonymous Moroccan scholar, Sheikh Hunayti proceeded to spread the order in Jordan, in the 1920s, leaving behind several sheikhs to succeed him in his work, including Sheikhs Khalid Abu Zaitoun, Mahmud Salim al-Thalji and 'Ayesh al-Hawyan[259].

Meanwhile, the Shadhili-Yashruti Order would be introduced into Jordan during the 1930s by way of certain individuals, who were followers of that order and who had come to settle in Jordan at that time. After the War of 1948 or the *Nakba*[260] in Palestine, many followers of the Shadhili-Yashruti Order would permanently settle in Jordan and establish *zawaya* in Amman. The order's founder, Sheikh Ahmad al-Yashruti himself has been living in Amman since 1980.

The Khalwati Order was introduced to Jordan after the British exiled Sheikh Kheir al-Din ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Sharif from the city of Hebron in Palestine to the Jordanian city of Kerak, due to his revolutionary activities against the British in Palestine. Numerous aspirants would flock to Sheikh Sharif and his order in the mid-1920s, after which he and several of his aspirants returned to Palestine. After Sheikh Sharif’s death, his son, Sheikh Hassan al-Sharif, came to Jordan in 1951, settling in the area of Wadi al-Seer on the outskirts of Amman. There, Sheikh Hassan al-Sharif would establish a school and *zawya* for the Khalwati Order. His son, Sheikh Husni al-Sharif was designated to be Sheikh Hassan’s successor after his death; however, the succession to Sheikh Husni only proceeded after a conflict and rupture occurred within the order. Sheikh ‘Abd al-Hay al-Qasimi, who had settled in the Jordanian city of Irbid after leaving Palestine following the *Nakba* of 1948, would take over leadership of the order and established several *zawaya* in Irbid and Amman. Today, the Qasimi Order is led by Sheikh ‘Abd al-Raouf al-Qasimi, who travels between his aspirants in both Jordan and Palestine[261].

It can be argued that the Shadhili-Darqawi-Hashimi-‘Alawi-Filali Order is one of the most widespread orders in Jordan, with the proliferation of this specific order credited to Sheikh Muhammad al-Hashimi al-Tilmisani, who came originally from Damascus. Under his instruction, the order produced several sheikhs in Jordan such as Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir ‘Issa al-Halabi, who settled in Jordan towards the end of the 1980s. Sheikh Halabi later moved to Turkey and died there in 1991, leaving behind Sheikh ‘Abd al-Hadi Sammoura and Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh to lead the order in Jordan. Sheikh Abu Ghazaleh worked to spread the ways of the order by way of a school he established in the Husseini Mosque and a *zawya* near the Husseini Mosque in Amman. Later, he founded the Mosque of Dar al-Qur’an as well as another *zawya* in the Hay Nazzal area of Amman[262].

Sheikh Muhammad Sa'id al-Kurdi of the Shadhili-Darqawi-Hashimi-'Alawi-Filali Order is considered one of the most important Sufi sheikhs in Jordan. Sheikh Kurdi came to Jordan from Turkey in the 1940s, settling in the Barha area, close to the Palestinian refugee camp in Irbid in northern Jordan. In 1955, he established a *zawya* which included a school that instructed in Islamic *shari'a* in the Sareeh area of Irbid, with his followers believing that he is the true founder of Sufism in Jordan[263].

After the death of Sheikh Kurdi in 1972, the order's succession went to Sheikh 'Abd al-Rahman al-Shaghouri in Damascus. In turn, Sheikh Shaghouri mandated Sheikh 'Abd al-Karim al-Momani with the mission and tasks of the order in Jordan. However, a conflict over the leadership of the order took place after which al-Shaghouri mandated Sheikh Younes Hamdan to lead the order in Jordan. Nevertheless, Sheikh Hamdan would step down after a short period, and Sheikh Ahmad al-Jammal from the city of Hama in Syria would take over the leadership of the order in Jordan, where he still resides today. Other leading sheikhs of the order today include Sheikh Nuh Ha Mim Keller, who is of American origin, and Sheikh Muhammad Sa'id al-Kurdi, who has two *zawaya* in Irbid[264].

Sheikh 'Abd al-Karim al-Momani, who died in 1991, appointed Sheikh 'Abd al-Karim al-'Urabi as his successor. Sheikh 'Urabi was born in Bir Saba' (Beersheba) in Palestine and migrated to Jordan after the *Nakba* in 1948. Today, he resides in the Hikma area in Irbid and has several *zawaya* in the cities of Amman, Madaba, Tafila, Sahab and Irbid. Another important Sufi sheikh and student of both Sheikhs al-Kurdi and al-Hashimi is Sheikh Ahmad al-Khudari, who ran a *majlis* (Sufi assembly) for *dhikr* in the Husseini Mosque until very recently.

Meanwhile, the Shadhili-Darqawi-Filali Order was introduced into Jordan by Sheikh Mustafa 'Abd al-Salam al-Filali, who was of Moroccan origin but was a resident of Jerusalem. From Jerusalem, Sheikh Filali worked to spread the Shadhili-Darqawi-

Filali Order throughout Palestine and Jordan. However, after the *Nakba* in 1948, he moved to Syria and later to Jordan in 1953, where he would establish a *zawya* near the Husseini Mosque in downtown Amman. After his death, the leadership of the order was turned over to several Sheikhs including Sheikh Shehadeh al-Tabari, who established a *zawya* in downtown Amman; Sheikh Ahmad Hassan Shehadeh al-Radaydeh, who established several *zawaya* in Irbid; Sheikh and Doctor Muhammad al-Filali, who was the son of Sheikh Mustafa al-Filali and who has his own *zawya* in the city of Zarqa; Sheikh Ibrahim al-Falouji, who established a *zawya* in the Dahiyet Amir Hassan area in Amman; Sheikh Ali al-Husseini, who has a *zawya* in the Shafa Badran in Amman; and Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir Ali Aal-al-Sheikh, who has a *zawya* in Hay Jendawil in Amman.

As for the Rifa’i Order, it was introduced into Jordan by several sheikhs, such as ‘Abd al-Hafez al-Nuwayhi, who came from Palestine to Jordan in 1948. Sheikh Nuwayhi first settled in the Sahhab area and later moved to Jabal al-Jawf in Amman. After his death in 2002, he bequeathed the leadership of the order to his son Sheikh Muhammad and to Sheikh Faris al-Rifa’i, who has several *zawaya* in the cities of Amman, Mafraq and Jerash. Other important sheikhs of this order include ‘Umar al-Sarafandi, who came to Amman after the Palestinian *Nakba* in 1948, and established a mosque and *zawya* in Jabal al-Nasr in Amman.

The Rawasi-Rifa’i Order was established in Jordan by Sheikh Ali Abu Zayd and several other sheikhs. After his death in 1997, Sheikh Abu Zayd left the leadership of the order to Sheikh Mahmud al-Faqih, who has a *zawya* in the Russeifeh area, as well as Sheikh and Dr Mi’ath Sa’id Hawa. Sheikh Nasser al-Din al-Khatib would also invigorate the order and worked to increase its reach in Jordan after he came to Jordan from Palestine in 1967. Sheikh Khatib would establish a mosque and *zawya* in Amman and would launch a Sufi satellite channel.[265]

The Qadiri Order was introduced into Jordan by the students of Sheikh Muhammad Hashim al-Baghdadi from Palestine. Sheikh Baghdad's students and aspirants would establish several *zawaya* in the Jordanian cities of Amman, Zarqa, Irbid and Russeifeh. The more important sheikhs of the Qadiri Order include 'Abd al-Halim al-Qadiri, who came to Jordan in 1938 and established a *zawya* in the South Shouneh area of the Jordan Valley. In 1966, Sheikh Qadiri moved to Amman at which time he established a *zawya* in the Hashimi area. After his death, the leadership of the order was turned over to his son Muhammad 'Abd al-Halim al-Qadiri[266].

The Kasnazani-Qadiri Order was introduced into Jordan via Iraq following the intensification of sectarian violence there after American troops entered Iraq in 2003. This specific order has established a *zawya* in the northern Marka area in Amman.

Indeed, the sources and the origins of the many Sufi orders in Jordan are diverse, with Syria, Palestine, Morocco and Iraq considered the most important tributaries contributing to Jordanian Sufism. There are also many different personalities and groups in Jordan, which are affiliated to Sufism outside the framework of the traditional orders, such as the *Jamaa'at al-Ahbash* (the Habashies)[267]. The Habashies were founded in the 1970s by Sheikh 'Abd Allah al-Habashi al-Harari, who belongs to the al-Rifa'i Order. In 1994, the Habashies founded the Arab Islamic Cultural Society. Meanwhile, *Jamaa'at al-Tabligh wal Da'wa*[268] came to Jordan in 1964 from the Indian Subcontinent; historically this group is affiliated with the Chisti Order. The *Taba'iyat* or "The Followers" (in the feminine plural) is the name given to a group of women in Jordan led by Fadia al-Taba'a, who is a follower of the Syrian sheikha, Munira al-Qubaisi, who, in turn, was the student of the late Syrian Mufti, Sheikh Ahmad Keftaro, who himself was a sheikh of the Naqshbandi Order.

The Sufi orders which can be considered institutionalized in Jordan or with deep-rooted and fixed, traditional hierarchical structures are the following:

First: The Shadhili Order

The Shadhili Order is one of the largest and the most widespread of Sufi orders in Jordan. The Shadhili Order traces its origins to its founder Abu al-Hassan al-Shadhili (d. 656 AH/1258 AD), who traveled to the Mashreq seeking an education and the spiritual sages of his time. Instead, he found his mentor, ‘Abd al-Salam Bin Mashish (d. 625 AH/1228 AD), in the Moroccon countryside. Bin Mashish was a devout worshipper and believer in the unity of the Divine, whose *zawya* rested on the crest of a mountain – a *zawya*, which, until this day, is a focal point for visitors, aspirants and followers. Shadhili later went into seclusion in the mountain ranges that lie between the cities of Tunis and Kairouan, near a village called “al-Shadhila”, to which many attribute his name. He, however, understood his name to be a spiritual sign that signified “turning away from” or “shunning” the corporeal world and lower life and instead, turning towards God – based on the lexical root of the Arabic verb “*shadha*” (lit., “to deviate from” or “to be an exception to”).

Al-Shadhili and his order would gain great popularity due to the simplicity of his doctrine. However, it was this simplicity and this popularity which would cast the wrath and enmity of Muslim jurists upon him. Due to the harsh persecution he was subjected to, he was forced to leave the Maghreb and finally settled in Alexandria, Egypt in 641 AD or 1244 AD.

Al-Shadhili’s order and doctrine are simply founded on the principle of divesting oneself of the internal and of devoting oneself to God in concerted remembrance of Him (a practice known as *dhikr*). Al-Shadhili also urged his followers to remain an integrated and functional part of society, while faithfully adhering to the Islamic *shari’a* and emulating the Prophet’s Sunna. Indeed,

these were the conditions required for being allowed into his order, with one of al-Shadhili's most renowned disciples being Abu al-Abbas al-Mursi (d. 686 AH/1287 AD). Finally, al-Shadhili was not concerned with the philosophical and metaphysical matters developed by scholars such as Ibn 'Arabi; and, he did not leave behind any traces of written works. However, despite this lack of textual references, his spiritual influence is clear in his litanies, the most famous of which is "*hizb al-bahr*", known in English as "Incantation of the Sea".

One of his later followers, the Egyptian, Ibn 'Ata'Allah, worked on developing the Shadhili doctrine and expanding the scope of its reach until it spread to the rest of the Islamic world. These efforts by Ibn 'Ata'Allah were notwithstanding the famous texts he would author, such as "*al-hukum al-'ata'iya*", known in English as "Compilation of Aphorisms [of Ibn 'Ata'Allah]", and "*kitab lata'if al-minan*", known in English as "[The Key to Salvation:] A Sufi Manual of Invocation". "Compilations of Aphorisms", today, is viewed as representing the first systematic compendium on the spiritual heritage and practice of *dhikr*, as well as the doctrinal reference for the Shadhili Order.

Another spiritual pillar of the Shadhili Order was 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Jazouli (d. between 869 AH/1465 AD and 874 AH/1470 AD) who was a disciple of Abu Madyan. Al-Jazouli authored a composition on a prayer for the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in his book "*dala'il al-khayrat*", known in English as "The Waymarks of Benefits", which has become a reference for Muslims across the Arab and the Islamic worlds. Yet another of the greater Shadhili sheikhs was Ahmad Zarruq, from the city of Fes, whose most renowned texts include "*qawa'id al-tasawwuf"* (lit., "The Principles of Sufism"*)* and "*'uddat al-murid al-sadiq*" (lit., "Tools for the Sincere Aspirant").

The 18th and 19th centuries AD would witness some of the most important efforts to revive and to modernize Sufism, all of which were embodied in the call to reform through a return to Sufism's roots and to its adherence to the Holy Qur'an and the

Sunna. These revivalist efforts were recognized by the term, the "Muhammadian way", which represented a return to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as the role model and adhering to the path of virtues set by his example.

One of the more important of revivalist reformers was Sheikh al-Maghrebi al-Arabi al-Darqawi (d. 1238 AH/1823 AD) who focused his attentions on spirituality from a pragmatic perspective and not on the theoretical levels which were characteristic of early Sufism. He stressed upon simple non-involvement in worldly affairs and on asceticism In this message, al-Darqawi contributed significantly to the development of the Shadhili Order and its branches, including the Shadhili-Darqawi, Madani, Yashruti and 'Alawi [Alawite] Orders – all of which are orders that, today, enjoy an extensive and significant presence in the Islamic world, including Jordan.

I. The Shadhili-Darqawi-Hashimi Order

Sheikh Muhammad al-Hashimi al-Tilmisani, who was a resident of Damascus, was the leading sheikh of the Shadhili-Darqawi-Hashimi-‘Alawi-Filali Order in the Levant. Indeed, it is his name that this branch of the Shadhili Order would adopt as its own. Muhammad al-Hashimi al-Tilmisani was born in 1881 in the city of Sebdou, on the outskirts of Tlemcen, one of the more important cities in Algeria. In 1911, Sheikh Hashimi would migrate with his sheikh, Muhammad Bin Yalas, to the Levant, escaping the clutches of French colonialism which had banned young Algerian men from studying with or attending lessons given by Muslim scholars. He would only remain in Damascus for a few days then continued on to Turkey, where he settled in Adana. His sheikh, Bin Yalas, chose to remain in Damascus. Two years later, Sheikh Hashimi would return to Damascus and reunite with Sheikh Bin Yalas. He would, once again, accompany Sheikh Bin Yalas, who sanctioned Sheikh Hashimi in the ways of the order and granted Hashimi the right to lead public prayers. In 1930, when Sheikh Mustafa al-‘Alawi traveled from Algeria to perform the pilgrimage, he stopped for a short period in Damascus. During his stay in Syria, Sheikh ‘Alawi also sanctioned Muhammad Hashimi in the order and granted him permission to perform special prayers, to provide instruction on the Divine Attributes and to provide general religious guidance to others. Sheikh Hashimi died in 1961 with his funeral rites performed in Damascus at the famous Umayyad Mosque, after which he was buried in the Dahdah Cemetery[269].

Sheikh Hashimi would leave behind twelve sheikhs[270] to continue the covenant of his order, the most important of these sheikhs include:

1. Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir Issa Azizi al-Halabi

‘Abd al-Qadir Halabi was born in Aleppo in 1920. He became the companion of Sheikh Hassan al-Husseini, sheikh of the Qadiri Order in Aleppo, who sanctioned him in the ways of the Qadiri Order. In 1952, Sheikh Halabi moved to Damascus and continued in the path under the instruction of Sheikh Muhammad

al-Hashimi al-Tilmisani, who sanctioned him in the ways of the Shadhili Order in 1958, although there are those who question whether or not this sanction ever took place[271]. The majority of Sheikh Halabi's life was spent in Aleppo although, at some point, he moved to al-Medina al-Minawara for a period of five years. He moved to Jordan at the end of the 1980s and remained there until he traveled to Turkey, where he subsequently died in 1991[272], leaving behind numerous authored works, the most important of which is "*haqa'iq a'an al-tasawwuf*" (lit., "Realities of Sufism"). Sheikh Halabi would leave the following successors to him in Jordan:

A. Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh

Hazem Abu Ghazaleh's family originally came from the port city of Jaffa, in Palestine; but he himself was born in Nablus, Palestine, in 1933. His father sent him to Syria to complete his religious studies in Damascus. There, he was introduced to Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir Issa in 1959, who sanctioned Abu Ghazaleh into the order. Abu Ghazaleh would also benefit from the instruction and guidance of 'Abd al-Qadir's sheikh, Muhammad al-Hashimi. After completing his studies, Abu Ghazaleh moved to Amman, where he was appointed as an imam, preacher and religious instructor at the Husseini Mosque in downtown Amman in 1964. He was of the first individuals to establish a school for instruction in the Holy Qur'an, in cooperation with the Director of Religious Endowments at that time, 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Mousuli. He was later transferred to the Mosque of the Holy Qur'an in the Hay Nazzal area of Amman, where he established a *zawya*. Lectures and lessons are given every morning, every Friday afternoon, and after evening prayers every Tuesday at Sheikh Abu Ghazaleh's *zawya*. He also established two *zawaya* in the Jawa area in Amman and in the Jordan Valley. At one point in his life, he separated from the references of the order that follow the doctrine of Sheikh Ahmad al-Jami in Turkey[273].

B. Sheikh 'Abd al-Hadi Samoura, known as "Abu Mustafa"

‘Abd al-Hadi Samoura meets with his aspirants at his *zawya*, located on Rainbow Street in Jabal Amman, every Friday morning[274]. Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh, however, stresses upon the fact that Sheikh Samoura (Abu Mustafa) was instructed in the doctrine of his order and not that of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir Issa[275].

2. Sheikh Muhammad Sa’id al-Kurdi al-Ayzouli

Muhammad Sa’id al-Kurdi al-Ayzouli was born in 1908 to a Kurdish father and a mother from the Momani tribe, which is a well-known tribe in Jordan. He came to Jordan from Turkey in the 1940s and settled in the Barha area, near the Palestinian refugee camp in Irbid. He became an imam at the Nour Mosque in Barha and founded a *zawya* in the Sareeh area in Irbid in 1955. In his *zawya*, he established a school of Islamic law, with the certificates earned at this school recognized and accredited by the Directorate of Religious Endowments, known today as the Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs[276]. His followers believe that he is the true founder of Sufism in Jordan and that his order is the most popular and widespread in the country[277].

Sheikh Muhammad Sa’id al-Kurdi was instructed in the ways of the Shadhili-Darqawi-Hashimi-‘Alawi-Filali Order and adopted the doctrine of Sheikh Muhammad al-Hashimi al-Tilmisani. Sheikh Tilmisani bestowed upon Sheikh Kurdi a written endorsement sanctioning him in the ways of the order[278], although some Sufis question the validity of this claim[279]. Sheikh Kurdi has authored and published numerous texts, which include: “*risalat al-tawhid*” (lit., “The Message of Unification”); “*kitab al-idhkar*” (lit., “The Book of Remembrance”); “*al-‘itar al-muhammadiyya fi diyar al-islamiyya*” (lit., “Muhammadian Extolations in the House of Islam”); “*al-qasa’id al-ruhiyya fi al-asrar al-thatiya*” (lit., “Spiritual Odes in the Secrets of the Self”) which is a collection of religious litanies and poems; “*dowhat al-imdad fi dhikr ba’ad karamat awliya’ al-akrad*” (lit., “The Derivation and Lineage of Some of the Marvels of the Kurdish Elders”); “*fi libs al-mara’a al-musliima*” (lit., “On the Attire of the Muslim Woman”); and, “*al-ta’aruf bi*

haqa'iq al-tasawwuf" (lit., "Instruction in the Truths of Sufism"). He has also authored memoirs that have yet to be published. He died in 1972, at the age of 82 years, and was buried in the town of Sareeh in the Irbid area. His *zawya* is still active today in the Palestinian refugee camp in Irbid[280].

Sheikh Kurdi left behind the following Sheikhs to succeed him in his order:

A. Sheikh 'Abd al-Rahman al-Shaghouri

'Abd al-Rahman al-Shaghouri was born in Homs, Syria, in 1910, but lived in Damascus. Sheikh Muhammad Sa'id al-Kurdi was the sheikh to sanction Shaghouri in the ways of the order. After the death of Sheikh Kurdi, al-Shaghouri traveled to Jordan and mandated 'Abd al-Karim al-Momani with the mission and tasks of the order in the country. After several years, and precisely, in 1987, Sheikh Momani split from Sheikh Shaghouri, claiming that he was the sole successor to Sheikh Kurdi. He also claimed that Sheikh Kurdi had mandated only him with the sheikhdom of their order[281]. However, Sheikh Ismail, the son of Sheikh Muhammad Sa'id al-Kurdi, insists that his father did not mandate any sheikh but Sheikh Shaghouri as his successor; he also claims that his father was not convinced that any of his aspirants in Jordan were qualified to take over the leadership of the order there[282].

Sheikh 'Abd al-Rahman al-Shaghouri is followed by these sheikhs of the order in Jordan:

i. Sheikh Younes Hamdan

Younes Hamdan is considered the first sheikh to be endorsed and sanctioned by Sheikh Shaghouri in Jordan. Sheikh Hamdan once had a very active presence in the Sareeh area of Irbid[283]. However, he suddenly retired as a sheikh of the order, claiming that he was not qualified to continue[284]. Indeed, one day, he stood before his aspirants and took off his mantle, saying to them, "I strip off my sheikhdom in the same manner

that I strip off this mantle" and left[285]. Certain Sufis claim that Sheikh Hamdan was the subject of an aggressive attack by 'Abd al-Karim al-'Arabi, in 1995, who challenged him over the leadership of the order; and, that it was 'Abd al-Karim al-'Arabi who provoked Hamdan's resignation[286].

ii. Sheikh Ahmad Jammal

Ahmad Jammal originally came from the city of Hama in Syria but later settled in the area of Tabarbour, near Amman in Jordan[287]. Sheikh Jammal was sheikh of the order for three years before he resigned[288]. He was distinguished by his scholarly abilities in the Islamic *shari'a*, which often caused him to object to the use of certain terms in lectures and lessons, particularly those related to the doctrine of *hulul*[289] (incarnationism)[290].

iii. Sheikh Nuh Ha Mim Keller

Nuh Ha Mim Keller is originally an American, who settled in Jordan. Keller was born to a Roman Catholic family, in 1954, in the town of Odessa in the state of Washington in the United States. He converted to Islam while studying Arabic at the al-Azhar University in Egypt in 1977. He continued his studies in the Arabic language with Claud Edbert at the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA) where he also earned a degree in philosophy in 1980. He moved to Jordan and continued his studies in Arabic at the University of Jordan in Amman. After completing his studies, he taught English at the Yarmouk University in Irbid. At the same time, he became the student of Sheikh 'Abd al-Rahman al-Shaghouri in Syria, and was sanctioned in the ways and the doctrine of the Shadhili Order under Shaghouri's instruction and guidance in 1988[291].

Sheikh Keller, today, is also a Senior Fellow at the Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought in Jordan and is the Sheikh of the Shadhili Order in the United States. He is considered one of the leading figures in the Islamic-Christian dialogue initiative and a major contributor to "A Common Word"[292],

which is a specific initiative made by many scholars from different Islamic currents in the Islamic world that is directed towards leading Christian religious figures[293].

Sheikh Keller established a *zawya* in the Hay al-Kharabsheh neighborhood, near Sports City in Amman. His doctrine is characterized by a strict and methodological approach to the manner in which wayseekers and aspirants take the Sufi path. His *zawya* is also especially marked by the significant presence of women amongst his aspirants, as well as its particular focus and attention on activities specifically designed for women[294]. He has also established numerous other institutions in Jordan, one of which is known as Qibla for the Islamic Sciences[295]; and, he translates books related to the Shafi'i[296] *madhab* into English.

iv. Sheikh Ismail Muhammad Sa'id al-Kurdi

Ismail Muhammad Sa'id al-Kurdi is the son of Sheikh Muhammad Sai'd al-Kurdi. He was born in the Irbid governorate in 1957 and studied at the Shari'a Institute in Damascus, graduating from there in 1996. Sheikh Shaghouri sanctioned him into the order in 1998. In 2002, Sheikh Shaghouri visited Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi in Irbid and stayed with him for a period of eight days, during which time he certified and publicly announced his sanctioning of Sheikh Kurdi in the ways of the order. Thereafter, Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi established two *zawaya*. One *zawya* is located in Beit al-Rass near the Palestinian refugee camp in Irbid, and is a gathering place for lectures and lessons, which are conducted once a week after Friday prayers. The other *zawya* is located in the Kurdi Mosque in Sareeh, Irbid, where two *dhikr* assemblies are held: one is held after *'isha'* (evening) prayers, every Tuesday, and the other is held between *maghreb* (sunset) and *'isha'* prayers, every Thursday[297].

B. Sheikh 'Abd al-Karim Salim al-Momani

‘Abd al-Karim Salim al-Momani was born in the town of ‘Abin in Ajloun, Jordan, in 1924, and grew up as an orphan. He worked in agriculture until he was old enough to join the Arab Liberation Army in Palestine, which was commanded over by Fawzi Al-Qawuqji. Momani continued to fight with this brigade for four years.

Sheikh Momani met Sheikh Muhammad Sa’id al-Kurdi, who lived in the town of Sakhra, adjacent to Sheikh Momani’s town, and was subsequently instructed in the ways of the Shadili Order by Sheikh Kurdi[298]. However, Sheikh Muhammad al-Kurdi never sanctioned Sheikh Momani in the ways of the order but rather permitted him to continue upon the path under the supervision of Sheikh Shaghouri. Sheikh Momani would remain under the instruction of Sheikh Shaghouri until 1987, at which time Momani showed the intention of putting his son ‘Aref as successor to the order. However, the son would die before the father and there is no evidence of a written or verbal will stating who Sheikh Momani wanted to succeed him in the order. Despite the lack of a clearly appointed succession, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Karim al-‘Arabi would succeed Sheikh Momani[299] after the latter passed away in 1991. Sheikh Momani was buried near his home in 1991, in the al-Qusayliya neighborhood in the city of Irbid, and his followers built a shrine over his grave that can be visited today.

Sheikh Momani left behind the following sheikhs of his order in Jordan:

i. Sheikh ‘Abd al-Karim al-‘Arabi

‘Abd al-Karim al-‘Arabi (otherwise known as “Abu ‘Abd al-Wahad”) was born in Bir Saba’ (Beersheba) in Palestine in 1942. After the *Nakba* of 1948, ‘Abd al-Karim al-‘Arabi fled from Bir Saba’ to the East Bank. In Jordan, he would study Islamic *shar’ia* under the instruction of Sheikh Muhammad Sa’id al-Kurdi. He would graduate together with Sheikh Momani from al-Kurdi’s school of Islamic *shari’a*; and, after

completing his studies, he was appointed as an imam by the Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs. Al-'Arabi remained an adherent of Sheikh Kurdi until his death, after which time he became an adherent of Sheikh 'Abd al-Karim al-Momani. Sheikh 'Arabi would succeed Sheikh Momani after the latter's death. Today, he administers Momani's *zawaya* and supervises the instruction and education of aspirants and students.

Sheikh 'Arabi resides in the Hikma area, in which his principal *zawya* is also located. He also established other *zawaya* in the Jordanian cities of 'Anjara, Madaba, Tafila and Sahhab. The latter *zawya* was relocated from its original location at the Husseini Mosque in downtown Amman, in 2005 – and, despite the fact that the Royal Court had permitted the *zawya* to continue its operations at the Husseini Mosque, Sheikh 'Arabi preferred to relocate to Sahhab[300]. In addition to his aspirants in Jordan, Sheikh 'Arabi has a following of aspirants in the Hijaz (the coastal region of the western Arabian Peninsula bordering on the Red Sea which includes both Mecca and Medina), as well as other places in the Arab Gulf. His followers claim that he has over 3,000 aspirants in the area altogether[301]. His aspirants are marked by specific attire, which includes a *laffa* – which is a type of turban that usually is the mark of a religious man or elder –, with a *hatta*, or an Arab headscarf, resting on top of the turban. His most prominent aspirants include Sheikh Ahmad al-'Akour, who is expected to be Sheikh 'Arabi's successor[302]; as well as Sheikh Hamad Barakat, who administers the *zawya* in Madaba; Sheikh Abu Anas, who administers the *zawya* in Sahhab; and Sheikh Mahmud al-Zarqan, who administers the *zawya* in Tafila.

Finally, another sheikh, who was instructed but not sanctioned by Sheikh Muhammad al-Kurdi to grant allegiance in the order, was Ahmad al-Khudari. Although he was not to be sanctioned as sheikh of the order, Sheikh

Khudari was permitted by Sheikh Kurdi to instruct and guide aspirants in the way of the order. Over time, Sheikh Khudari would become renowned for the weekly lectures he used to conduct at the Husseini Mosque in downtown Amman. All of the latter is with the knowledge that, at one point, Sheikh Khudari was actually sanctioned by Sheikh Muhammad al-Kurdi; however, the latter feared that the order could not be sustained under the leadership of al-Khudari due to his frailty and his extreme humility – subsequently, al-Kurdi decided to withdraw his sanction[303].

II. The Shadhili-Darqawi-Hashimi-'Alawi-Filali Order

The Shadhili-Darqawi-Hashimi-'Alawi-Filali Order is a branch of the Shadhili Order, which traces its origins back to Sheikh Mustafa 'Abd al-Salam al-Filali. Sheikh Mustafa al-Filali was born in Kesr Sousou in Morocco in 1888. After accompanying his family to perform the pilgrimage in 1897, they opted to remain in al-Medina al-Minawara where al-Filali would be educated. After his father died, he and his siblings remained in the custody of their mother. When he was old enough, he traveled to Egypt and to the Levant, where he would remain for a prolonged period in the Holy City of Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, he would meet Sheikh Ahmad Bin Mustafa Bin 'Alaywa al-'Alawi circa 1924[304] and subsequently, he became a student of Sheikh 'Alawi. He followed Sheikh 'Alawi to Mostaganem, Algeria, where he remained for a few days, as Sheikh 'Alawi commanded him to return to Palestine to work in disseminating the ways of his order. Returning to Palestine, Sheikh Filali would establish several *zawaya*, the first of which was founded circa 1928[305].

When Sheikh 'Alawi moved to Damascus, Syria, Filali went to stay with him in 1948[306], at which time Sheikh 'Alawi sanctioned Sheikh Mustafa Filali as sheikh of the order in Palestine and Jordan and Sheikh Muhammad al-Hashimi as the sheikh of the order in Syria[307]. Al-Filali returned from Syria to Amman in 1953[308] and established a *zawya* near the Husseini Mosque in downtown Amman, as soon as he arrived. Until this day, this *zawya* conducts *dhikr* assemblies every Sunday and Thursday[309].

In 1967, Sheikh Filali moved to the Hay al-'Arab neighborhood in the town of Zarqa[310], where he built a home and a *zawya*. The *zawya* in Zarqa is still active today and is marked by a sign where "The Moroccan-Filali Zawya" is written[311]. The person administering and leading this *zawya* today is Sheikh Filali's son, Sheikh Muhammad al-Filali. It is said that King Hussein Bin Talal took a covenant in the ways of this order[312], although the validity of this claim could not be verified. Indeed, Filali's student, 'Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh, denies that King Hussein received instruction in

any specific Sufi order from any specific person[313]. Al-Filali passed away in 1986 and was buried in the Sahhab cemetery[314].

The more important sheikhs that belong to the order of Sheikh Filali in Jordan are as follows:

1. Sheikh Shehadeh al-Tabari (otherwise known as Abu Shaher)

Shehadeh al-Tabari has a *zawya* in downtown Ma'an and is also a sheikh of one of the more well known tribes in southern Jordan. Sheikh Hamdan al-Zuyoud has been appointed as his successor in the Sahhab area[315].

2. Sheikh Ahmad Hassan Shehadeh al-Radaydeh[316]

Ahmad Hassan Shehadeh al-Radaydeh was born in Kafr Yuba in Irbid in 1941. He met Sheikh Filali for the first time while attending a *dhikr* assembly at Filali's *zawya* near the Husseini Mosque in downtown Amman in 1965, at which time al-Radaydeh made a covenant to seek the path of the order. It is said that the followers of Sheikh Radaydeh in and outside Jordan amount to over 7,000 aspirants. Sheikh Radaydeh has been an active participant in many Arab and international conferences. He is also a member of the Jordanian writers and authors guild and has authored several texts on Sufism. His *zawya* in Kafr Yuba conducts lectures every Sunday and Thursday evening, and prior to Friday prayers. Another *zawya* located in Turra, Irbid, is administered by Hajj Yahya al-Smai'at; and, a *zawya* for women has been established in the residence of a woman who lives near the Palestinian refugee camp in Irbid.

3. Sheikh Muhammad al-Filali

Muhammad al-Filali is the son of Sheikh Filali and resides in the Hay al-'Arab neighborhood in the town of Zarqa. He is said to have bestowed the covenant of the order to several princes from the royal family[317].

4. Sheikh Ibrahim al-Falouji

Ibrahim al-Falouji has a *zawya* in the Dahiyet Amir Hassan area in Amman.

5. Sheikh Ali al-Husseini

Ali al-Husseini has a *zawya* in the Shafa Badran area in Amman, with several princes from the royal family known to attend his assemblies, including Prince Ali Bin Nayef and Prince ‘Assem Bin Nayef[318].

6. Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir Ali Al-al-Sheikh[319]

‘Abd al-Qadir Ali Al-al-Sheikh was born in Amman in 1947 although he is originally from al-Medina al-Minawara. His grandfather left al-Medina with Prince Abdullah I, and came to Jordan at the same time that the Emirate was being founded. Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir Al-al-Sheikh met Sheikh Filali in 1963 and committed to taking the path of the order under Sheikh Filali’s instruction and guidance. He was appointed as the imam of the Jordanian Armed Forces in 1968 and then as imam for the Directorate of Religious Endowments in 1970. He was also appointed as the mufti of the Civil Defense Forces in 1974 and remained in that post until he retired in 1991. After his retirement, he has focused his attention on writing, conducting sermons, teaching and providing religious guidance. He is famed for a sermon he conducted at the Kalouti Mosque in the Rabiyeh area of Amman, which attracted a significant audience, and which also led to him being banned from publicly speaking in mosques in 2008.

III. Shadhili-Yashruti Order

The Shadhili-Yashruti Order traces its origins back to Sheikh Ali Nur al-Din, also known as Abu Fatima al-Yashruti. Ali Nur al-Din al-Yashruti was born in Bizerte in Tunisia in 1794 to the Bani Yashrut clan, which is one of the larger tribes of the Arab Maghreb. He began his studies in Bizerte, but then continued his studies at the Great Mosque of Zaytuna[320] in Tunis, where he attended many lectures and classes. He explored being an aspirant and wayseeker of many different Sufi orders. However, the most important order for him would become the Shadhili Order, which he was instructed in by Sheikh Muhammad Hassan Bin Hamza Dhafer al-Madani (d. 1852 AD).

In his earlier years, Sheikh Yashruti worked as a teacher in several of the many high schools teeming in the Tunisian capital at that time. He taught Islamic disciplines which included interpretation, the Hadith, Islamic principles, Islamic law, as well as logic and theology, amongst other subjects and disciplines.

He left the Arab Maghreb for the Hijaz in 1846, and from there continued on to Acre in 1850. In Acre, he established a Shadhili *zawya* in 1862, which hosts a *mazar* (shrine) and a *mashhad* (a shrine-tomb) in which three of the most important spiritual sages of the Shadhili-Yashruti Order are buried today[321]. He later moved to the town of Tarsheeha, which is located near Acre. While in Palestine, Sheikh Yashruti also became deeply involved in the controversy and the debate surrounding the Bahá'i Faith[322].

However, his increasing popularity, the growing number of people who flocked to him and the expanding number of his aspirants and his followers began to alarm the Ottoman authorities, who eventually banished him from the Levant to the Island of Rhodes in 1851 AD[323]. After spending 21 months in exile, Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid finally pardoned Sheikh Yashruti and he returned to Tarsheeha, and from there, once again continued on to Acre, where he passed away in 1899 at an age of over 100 years old. His tomb rests in Acre and has become a shrine for visitors[324].

Sheikh Ali Nur al-Din al-Yashruti appointed his son, Ibrahim, to succeed him in the order. Meanwhile, Sheikh Ibrahim passed away in 1928, at which time Sheikh Ibrahim's son, Muhammad al-Hadi, was appointed successor. The latter moved to Beirut in 1948, and died there in 1982. His body was taken to Acre for burial next to his grandfather and father. Sheikh Muhammad al-Hadi appointed his son, lawyer Ahmad Yashruti, to succeed him, with the latter currently residing in the Jordanian capital, Amman[325].

The Yashruti Order has enjoyed wide popularity and has proliferated significantly outside Jordan, in both the Arab region as well as East Africa, where for example, in the Islamic archipelago-nation of the Union of Comoros, approximately 90% of the population are followers of the Shadhili-Yashruti Order. The order is also significantly widespread in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Madagascar and Reunion Island, as well as in the émigré lands of the Americas, such as Canada, the United States and Brazil[326].

The Shadhili-Yashruti Order is considered one of the oldest Sufi orders in Jordan today, as the order spread to Jordan as early as the 1930s, by way of followers of the order who came from Lebanon, at that time, and settled in Jordan. With the *Nakba* in Palestine in 1948, numerous other followers of the Yashruti Order, the majority of which were Palestinians, also immigrated to Jordan. Finally, with the declaration of the union between the East and West Banks in 1950, many other members of the order living in the Palestinian interior, or the West Bank, would also become Jordanian citizens[327].

The Yashruti Order in Jordan today is represented by two sheikhs, who are:

1. Sheikh Ahmad Muhammad al-Hadi al-Yashruti

With the order being turned over to lawyer Ahmad al-Yashruti, who has resided in Amman since 1980, the Jordanian capital has become the center of Yashruti activities in the world. It is

said that aspirants of this order have reached almost 100,000 in number, many of whom flock to the Jordanian capital, particularly from South Africa[328].

Sheikh Ahmad al-Yashruti built a house and a *zawya* near the fourth circle in Jabal Amman, but the *zawya* was later moved to the Bayader Wadi al-Seer area in Amman. One of Yashruti's sons and another delegate, Sheikh Sa'id al-'Awri, assist Yashruti in administering the affairs of the order's *zawya*.

The Yashruti Order in Jordan is characterized by secrecy and appears obscure to the outsider. No one is allowed to enter the *zawya* unless one is granted prior permission. Other Sufi orders accuse it of transgressions when it comes to the provisions and rule of Islamic law, such as mixed assemblies being held, where men and women are both in attendance and where allegedly *muharammat* (religious prohibitions) take place[329]. Sheikh Yashruti visits Lebanon from time to time to check on members of the order, who congregate in a *zawya* the Yashruti Order recently established in South Beirut.

2. Sheikh and Dr. 'Abd al-Jalil 'Abd al-Rahim Ali al-'Abadleh
'Abd al-Jalil 'Abd al-Rahim Ali al-'Abadleh was born in the village of Deir Balout in Palestine in 1944. He studied in the Salfit High School, in the West Bank, and continued his studies at a religious institute in Nablus in 1961, which today is called the School for Islamic Studies. The latter was established to help prepare those who wish to continue their studies at the Noble Azhar University (associated with al-Azhar Mosque) in Cairo. 'Abd al-Jalil entered the faculty of theology at al-Azhar University, where he met many scholars, sages and elders, including 'Abd al-Halim Mahmud (d. 1986 AD). After meeting Sheikh 'Abd al-Halim, 'Abd al-Jalil would attend assemblies held by the latter for one year, in 1963. After completing his studies, he returned to Palestine and then to Jordan after the War of 1967. He traveled once again to Cairo in order to complete his doctoral studies in the *shari'a* and in other aspects of Islamic law at al-Azhar University.
After receiving his doctoral degree, he returned to Jordan

and was appointed lecturer at the faculty of Islamic law at Jordan University in 1970. There, he would meet with Ali Ibn al-Sheikh ‘Abd al-Rahman Abu Risheh (d. 1974), with whom a close relationship would develop. Sheikh Abu Risheh was also the brother-in-law of Sheikh Ibrahim, the son of Ali Nur al-Din al-Yashruti, the founder of the Yashruti Order. Dr ‘Abd al-Jalil and Sheikh ‘Abd al-Rahman Abu Risheh, who lived in Syria, continued to visit one other on an almost monthly basis, until ‘Abd al-Jalil was sanctioned in the ways of the order by Sheikh ‘Abd al-Rahman.

Today, Sheikh and Dr ‘Abd al-Jalil lives in the Sweileh area of Amman. He conducts *dhikr* assemblies every Friday, after Friday prayers where he conducts the Friday sermon himself, at the shrine of the Prophet Shu’ayb (PBUH) in Wadi Shu’ayb, close to the city of al-Salt[330].

IV. The Shadhili-Ghudhufi-Qadiri Order

The Shadhili-Ghudhufi-Qadiri Order is also considered one of the oldest Sufi orders in Jordan. It was introduced prior to the establishment of the Emirate and is an order that combines between the ways of the Qadiri and Shadhili Orders. One of the most important founders of this specific order, which has a particularly concentrated presence in eastern Mauritania, is Sheikh Muhammad al-Ghudhuf al-Daoudi (d. 1210 AH). One of this order's most important living sheikhs is Sheikh 'Abd Allah Bin Bayyah, who is currently the deputy-head of the International Union of Muslim Scholars[331].

The Shadhili-Ghudhufi-Qadiri Order was subjected to what its followers describe as a "*mujahada*" or struggle, suffering harsh persecution due to the order's insistence on resisting and combatting French colonialism. It was due to this struggle and persecution that 50 practicing families of the order decided to leave Mauritania and perform the rites of hajj in 1904. During their travels, the Turks invited them to Istanbul where they were greeted by Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid. After performing the rites of hajj, some of these families would settle in Anatolia[332], while others chose to settle in Sudan[333].

One of the order's most important Sheikhs, Sharif Muhammad Al-Amin Bin Zein al-Qalqami, settled in the city of Acre in Palestine. However, prior to moving to Palestine, Sheikh Qalqami first left Mauritania for Libya in 1903, where he established a *zawya* for instruction in religious disciplines. During his stay in Libya, people flocked to him and his *zawya* in droves, until the Italians colonized Libya, at which time he again departed for the Mashreq[334].

Sharif Muhammad al-Amin al-Qalqami finally settled in Jordan, where he established a *zawya* for his order near the city of Amman, where many of the members of local East Bank tribes and clans flocked to see him. Indeed, they were eager for anyone who could guide them in religious affairs and instruct them in matters of jurisprudence concerning their religion. From Jordan, Sheikh

Muhammad Amin left for Turkey to fight alongside the Turks against the British[335]. There are also accounts which state that he fought against the Jews in Palestine. He is also credited for establishing the towns of al-Rashidiyeh and al-Tafileh during the 1920s[336]. Eventually, he passed away in Turkey in 1969[337].

Sheikh Qalqami was succeeded in the order by his son, Zein al-'Abidin al-Qalqami, who continued to instruct people in the ways of the order until he decided to leave Jordan and return to Mauritania to fight against the French colonialists. He was arrested by the French military and his fate remains unknown, until today[338].

Meanwhile, another reference of the Shadhili-Ghudhufi-Qadiri Order is a Moroccan scholar, whose name is unknown. Accounts state that this anonymous Moroccan scholar once visited Jordan and met with a man of the name Fallah Nasrallah al-Hunayti, who worked as a shepherd in the governorate of al-Salt. The Moroccan scholar called upon Fallah to commit to prayer and to adhere to the ethics and good manners prescribed by Islam. The Moroccan is said to have stated to his followers, "Fallah shall be your sheikh"; then, the Moroccan left to Mecca to perform the rites of the hajj. Years later, Fallah left Jordan for Haifa, Palestine, and from there continued on to Jeddah and later to Mecca, in Saudi Arabia. It is said that Sheikh Fallah met, once again, with the Moroccan scholar. And, during their second reunion, the Moroccan is said to have sanctioned Fallah with the covenant of the Ghudhufi Order, and granted him permission to preach in the name of the order and to advocate and disseminate its ways[339]

Sheikh Fallah would remain in Mecca for six years before returning to Jordan in the 1920s. Upon his return, he would henceforth dedicate all his time to instructing people and to assisting aspirants in the ways of his order, which was characterized by a strict focus on the obligation of the five daily prayers, and by women adhering to the attire of the *hijab* (veil), and by prohibitions on sacrifices made to none other than God. Indeed, it is said that he himself cut down four olive trees which people visited with the belief that

these trees would grant them blessings[340]. His particular form of calling enticed his opponents to accuse him and his followers of Wahhabism[341], an allegation that King Abdullah I himself denied. Indeed, the king would defend Sheikh Fallah and his followers, as he himself was a wayseeker of this order and an adherent to its provisions and ways[342].

In his order, Sheikh Fallah al-Hunayti placed particular emphasis upon the importance and necessity of the aspirant being a scholar in matters of Islamic jurisprudence. The most important sheikhs of this order, who were instructed in Islamic scholarship, disciplines and conduct by Sheikh Fallah himself, are

1. Sheikh Khalid Abu Zaytoun
Khalid Abu Zaytoun came from the ‘Assira al-Shamiliya area in Jordan and was educated as a Maliki[343] jurist, who was sanctioned to grant permission in the reading of the Qur’an. He passed away in 2009 and was buried in the Hay Hamalan Cemetery in south Marka in Amman[344].

2. Sheikh Mahmud Salim al-Thalji
Mahmud Salim al-Thalji today resides in the Umm al-Hayran area in Amman. He is considered the order’s sheikh who is authorized with permitting allegiance to the order. Sheikh Thalji, at the time this study was written, had reached the ripe age of almost 100 years old.

3. Sheikh ‘Ayesh al-Hawyan
‘Ayesh al-Hawyan was born in Amman in 1929 and, today, he resides in the Jamarek area in Amman. Sheikh ‘Ayesh Hawyan is also considered the sheikh of sheikhs of the Hawyan clan in Jordan. He holds assemblies for his aspirants after *fajr* (dawn) prayers every Friday in which the principles and provisions of Islamic jurisprudence are reviewed and where discussions are held to advise one another in matters pertaining to personal affairs and social concerns.
Sheikh Hawyan was granted the covenant of the order from

Sheikh Fallah al-Hunayti in 1961; and, in the 1980s, he ran for the parliamentary seat of Sheikh Muhammad Minwar al-Hadid, which became vacant after the latter passed away. However, Sheikh Hawyan failed to gain the parliamentary seat[345].

Second: The Rifa'i Order

The Rifa'i Order was founded by Sheikh Ahmad al-Rifa'i (d. 577 AH/1182 AD), who established a *zawya* in southern Iraq and attracted thousands of students and aspirants. Sheikh Rifa'i's teachings would spread to all corners of the Islamic world, and his doctrine called for modesty and to adhering to the Prophet's Sunna and the Islamic *shari'a*. However, after the 7th century AH, his followers would introduce practices into al-Rifa'i's teachings and doctrine that did not concur or comply with his manner of instruction or directions, such as "*darb al-shish*", which is a ritual where iron skewers are used to puncture the skin, as well as other practices such as walking on coals and into fires and swallowing snakes and venom.

Of the most renowned followers of the Rifa'i Order at the end of the Ottoman era was Sheikh Abu al-Huda al-Sayadi Muhammad Hassan Wadi (1849-1909). Coming from Aleppo, Sheikh Sayadi became acquainted with and developed close relations with Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II. Sheikh Sayadi soon gained the title of the "sheikh of sheikhs" and became one of the closest and most important confidants of the sultan. He served the sultan for over 30 years and it is said that he always had the last word when it came to Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid's highest ranking jurists and judges[346].

The most important sheikhs of the Rifa'i Order in Amman today include:

1. Sheikh 'Umar Ahmad Hassan Abu 'Alia al-Sarafandi

'Umar Ahmad Hassan Abu 'Alia al-Sarafandi was born in the city of Ramla, Israel, in 1951, and was raised in the milieu of his father, who himself was a Sufi. He left with his father after the *Nakba* of 1948, for the town of Sarafand in Lebanon. He then traveled onwards to the Shouneh area in Jordan where he would remain for only a few days before moving on to finally settle in the capital, Amman. At first, he was instructed in the ways of the Rifa'i Order by Sheikh 'Abd al-Hafez al-Tahrawi; however, when

the latter commanded that he abandon the practice of *darb al-shish*", a ritual where iron skewers are used to puncture the skin, al-Sarafandi did not comply, at which time his sheikh said to him that, from that point forth, "You are on one path and I am on another"[347].

Subsequently, Sheikh Sarafandi would turn to the adherents and followers of the Iraqi sheikh, Ahmad al-Rawi (d. 1966)[348]. Sarafandi would finally be granted a covenant in the order by Sheikh Saif Bin ‘Abd al-Wahhab al-Rawi (d. 2000), who was the grandson of Sheikh Ahmad al-Rawi. For a time, Sheikh Sarafandi was the caretaker of the Rawi charity and hospice in the city of Deir al-Zor in Syria. He also founded a mosque and established a *zawya* in the Jabal al-Nasr area in Amman in 1978.

Sheikh Sarafandi's order would become marked by the ritual of *darb al-shish* on different parts of the body, particularly during religious occasions and during times when he felt they were being persecuted or challenged. This practice would provoke harsh criticism and the antagonism of many Sufis and Salafis, which led to many conflicts between the latter and Sarafandi's order. Sheikh Sarafandi, today, holds assemblies after *maghreb* (sunset) prayers every Thursday, which include religious lessons and *dhikr* sessions[349].

2. Sheikh ‘Abd al-Hafez al-Tahrawi al-Nuwayhi

‘Abd al-Hafez al-Tahrawi al-Nuwayhi was born in the village of Abu Shoushah, near the city of Ramla in then Palestine in 1910. He became acquainted with Sufism at an early age and remained a Sufi for 85 years. He was instructed in the ways of the Rifa'i Order by Sheikh Yousef al-Nuwayhi, who came from the village of Qazaza, also near the city of Ramla. In 1948, he left Palestine for the Sahhab area in Jordan, although he did not remain there for long, moving onwards to Jabal al-Jawfeh in Amman. In Jabal al-Jawfeh, he would establish a *zawya*, which would later be torn down by a project for the construction of the Amir Hassan School. Thus, he was obliged to move his *zawya* to

another location, which would be in the Mukhayam al-Hussein area (or the Hussein Palestinian refugee camp) in Amman.

Sheikh ‘Abd al-Hafez would become renowned for his frequent use of the practice of *darb al-saif*, which is a ritual where swords are used in order to manifest what he alleged were “*karamat*” (lit., miracles; gifts). His practice was so notorious that he became now known by the nickname, *al-lahham* (lit., the butcher). In 1967, he was reprimanded by those of “The House of God” (a council of religious elders) in an official statement that declared he “must stop the practice of *darb al-saif*”; and henceforth, the practice would be prohibited”[350]. Sheikh Sarafandi was also a wayseeker of five different orders: the Rifa’i, Qadiri, Dasouqi, Sa’adi and Badawi Orders. He passed away in 2002 and left behind the following as his successors to his order:

A. Sheikh Muhammad ‘Abd al-Hafez al-Tahrawi al-Nuwayhi
Muhammad ‘Abd al-Hafez al-Tahrawi al-Nuwayhi is the son of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Hafez al-Tahrawi. Sheikh Muhammad was born in the village of Abu Shoushah in Palestine, in 1944, and would accompany his father to Jordan, following the *Nakba* of 1948. He was instructed in the ways of the order by his father and succeeded his father as head of the *zawya* in the Hussein Camp in Amman, until his brother sold the zawya, after which he was forced to conduct assemblies in the homes of his aspirants[351].

B. Sheikh Faris al-Rifa’i
Faris al-Rifa’ established a *zawya* in the Hadadeh area in Amman and *zawaya* in the towns of Mafraq, Dibin and Jerash. After his death, specific aspirants would succeed him and administer his *zawaya*[352].

3. The Sons and Grandsons of Sheikh Yousef al-Nuwayhi
Indeed, ‘Abd al-Hafez al-Tahrawi was not the only one in his family to be instructed in the ways of the order by his father, Sheikh Yousef al-Nuwayhi. Sheikh Yousef’s had other sons and

grandsons who would also inherit the ways of the order from him, including:

A. Sheikh Mahmud al-Nuwayhi
Mahmud al-Nuwayhi is the only son of Sheikh Yousef who is still alive; he has a *zawya* in Madaba.

B. Sheikh Anwar al-Nuwayhi
Anwar al-Nuwayhi is one of Sheikh Yousef's grandsons; he has a zawya in the Quweismeh area in Amman.

C. Sheikh 'Abd al Hamid al-Nuwayhi
'Abd al-Hamid is another of Sheikh Yousef's grandsons; he is an active member of Sheikh Anwar al-Nuwayhi's *zawya*.

D. Sheikh Muhmmad al-Nuwayhi
Muhammad al-Nuwayhi is another of Sheikh Yousef's grandsons; he also established a *zawya* in the Quweismeh area in Amman, but this is a different *zawya* from that of Sheikh Anwar al-Nuwayhi[353].

Third: The Rawasi-Rifa'i Order

The Rawasi branch of the Rifa'i Order traces its origins back to Sheikh Baha'uddin Mahdi al-Rawas al-Rifa'i, who was born near Basra in 1805 AD. His father died when he was very young, followed by his mother, who died when he reached the age of 15 years. In 1820, he graduated as a student from the Masjid al-Haram, known in English as the Sacred or Grand Mosque which is built around the Kaaba, in Mecca. He remained in Mecca for one more year. He then moved to al-Medina al-Minawara and remained there for another two years. In Medina, he worked to further his education with religious scholars at the Haram al-Nabawi or al-Masjid al-Nabawi, known in English as the Mosque of the Prophet. After Medina, he moved to Egypt and stayed at the al-Azhar Mosque, where he commenced his studies in the Islamic *shari'a* under the instruction of al-Azhar sheikhs. He would remain at the al-Azhar Mosque for thirteen years until he excelled in and mastered every Islamic art and discipline.

After completing his studies, he would return for a visit to Iraq where he met with Sheikh 'Abd Allah al-Rawi al-Rifa'i. Sheikh Rawas would remain under the instruction of Sheikh 'Abd Allah al-Rawi al-Rifa'i until he was educated in the ways and doctrine of the order. Indeed, Rawas would serve Sheikh 'Abd Allah al-Rawi al-Rifa'i and would remain under his guidance until the latter sanctioned him as a sheikh in the order and as a successor to him. He left Iraq and journeyed to India, Khurasan (in present-day Iran), 'Ajam (in present-day Iran), Turkestan and Kurdistan, and roamed through Iraq and Syria, then through Constantinople (Istanbul), Rumali (today, part of present-day Istanbul) and Anatolia. He eventually made his way back to the Hijaz, and from there, he traveled to Yemen, Najd (the highlands of central Saudi Arabia, where the present-day capital, Riyadh, is located) and Bahrain. He never remained in one country for more than seven months, and the longest stay in one city was never more than three months. He died in Baghdad in 1870 and was buried there[354].

Sheikhs of the Rawasi Order:

1. Sheikh Ali Abu Zayd

Ali Abu Zayd (d. 1997 AD) was instructed in the ways of the order by Sheikh Mahmud Shaqfa al-Hamawi (d. 1979 AD)[355] and was succeeded in the order by the following sheikhs:

A. Sheikh Mahmud Muraweh al-Faqih

Mahmud Muraweh al-Faqih established a *zawya* in the Jabal Shamali area of al-Russeifeh in Jordan.

B. Sheikh and Doctor Mu'ath Sa'id Hawa

Mu'ath Sa'id Hawa was born in 1969, and is the son of the renowned and late Syrian leader of the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, Sa'id Hawa. Sheikh Mu'ath Sa'id Hawa received his doctorate in Islamic jurisprudence and has been working as an imam, religious speaker and teacher in one of Amman's mosques since 1993 AD. He is particularly active in conducting lessons that focus on *tazkiyya*[356].

C. Sheikh Nassar al-Din al-Khatib

Nassar al-Din al-Khatib was born in Jerusalem in 1955 and moved to Jordan in 1967. After falling into despair over the futility of engaging in nationalist movements and leftist currents, he decided to join the ranks of the *Jamaa'at al-Tabligh wal Da'wa*[357] in 1970. He remained with the *Jamaa'at al-Tabligh* for one year, during which time he met a Sufi sheikh named 'Abd al-Qadir al-Shayoukhi; and, in this acquaintance, Khatib's journey and story with Sufism would begin. In 1971, Nassar al-Din al-Khatib would go to Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir, the sheikh of the Shadhili-Qadiri Order, and would begin instruction in the Islamic *shari'a* under the guidance of Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir for an entire year.

In 1973, he established a *zawya* in Jabal al-Zuhour, which he would later expand into a mosque that he named the Imam Rawas Mosque. In 1975, he would become acquainted with Sheikh Mahmud Shaqfa; and, by 1976, Khatib had adopted

the ways of the Rawasi-Rifa'i Order, under the instruction and guidance of this sheikh. He would establish the Assamael Audiovisual Investment Company, and owns a Sufi satellite channel, which he founded with the following objectives:

1. To help abolish the artificial barriers between Sufi orders, as a first step to uniting the orders;

2. To safeguard the integrity of the Sunna;

3. To mobilize Sufi orders against the Persian project, led by Iran[358]

Fourth: The Qadiri Order

The Qadiri Order traces its origins back to the doctrine of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani (d. 561 AH/1166 AD); and, thus, is considered one of the oldest Sufi orders in the Islamic world, which was born in the cradle of Sufism, Iraq. Al-Gilani originally came from Gilan, in what is today northwestern Iran. He travelled to Baghdad seeking an education in the Hanbali School of Islamic jurisprudence[359], in the Hadith and in Sufism. After receiving his education, he would leave Baghdad and lead a life of asceticism and austerity for almost 20 years, after which he returned to the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate, once again. Upon his return to Baghdad, Sheikh Gilani proceeded to provide instruction and religious guidance, winning wide acclaim and attracting many students and a vast following. He authored the work, “*al-ghunya li-talibi tariq al-haqq wa al-din*” (lit., “Sufficient Provision for Seekers of the Path of Truth and Religion”), a book which is considered an extensive guide to the rules and the principles of the manners, behavior and code of conduct of Sufis. Over the span of Sufism’s historical evolution, the Qadiri Order would expand and spread its reach to all corners of the Islamic world, particularly in the Levant, Iraq, Egypt and East Africa. Throughout the history of the order, Gilani’s adherents and followers have had a great impact and influenced the spread of Islam to the African and Asian continents; they also proved to be steadfast in resisting and confronting the European tide that was infiltrating the Arab Maghreb[360].

The Qadiri Order was introduced into Jordan by Sheikh ‘Abd al-Halim Hamad ‘Awda al-Qadiri, who was born in 1920 in the village of Budros on the outskirts of Ramallah, Palestine. He established a *zawya* in Palestine; however, in 1938, he decided to move to the East Bank (Jordan). He would settle in the South Shouneh area and established a *zawya* there that remained active until 1966. That year, he moved to the capital, Amman, where he established another *zawya* for his order in the Hashimi area. This *zawya* is active, until today, with assemblies held after *‘isha* (evening) prayers every Thursday.

Sheikh ‘Abd al-Halim passed away in 1998, with the affairs of the order handed over to his son, Muhammad ‘Abd al-Halim Qadiri. Sheikh Muhammad al-Qadiri was born in South Shouneh and studied Islamic *shari’a* at one of the Islamic *shari’a* colleges in Amman for two years. Today, he works as the imam of a mosque in addition to administering the affairs of the order’s *zawya* in Amman[361]. He has also authored a book, entitled, “*al-‘ajwiba al-sunniyya ‘ala man ‘itarad ‘ala al-sada al-sufiyya*” (lit., “Answers from the Sunna for Those Who Oppose the Masters of Sufism”), in which he responds to and deals with certain allegations and suspicions that have been attributed to the ways of his order[362].

One of the Qadiri Order’s contemporary sheikhs was also Muhammad Hashim bin Hassan al-Baghdadi al-Qadiri al-Kilani (1909-1995), who was a Jerusalemite; in fact, he was born and raised in Jerusalem, but his family originally came from Baghdad. He traced his lineage back to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and was one of the more renowned Sufi *‘ulema* in Palestine. Indeed, he had a great religious impact in Jordan and Palestine and on his students and aspirants.

Sheikh Muhammad Hashim al-Baghdadi was sanctioned in the covenant of the order, in its ways and in its instruction by Sheikh Muhammad Habiballah al-Shanqiti. He was also instructed in Islamic jurisprudence in the al-Aqsa Mosque by Sheikh Saleh al-Liftawi, and was instructed in Arabic by Sheikh Muhammad al-Tunisi. He moved to Syria in 1356 AH, where he studied the Qur’an first with Sheikh Ahmad al-Satil, then with Sheikh Muhammad ‘Azou al-Maydani, followed by Sheikh Muhammad al-Khabbaz, then Sheikh Bashir al-Shallah. Indeed, Sheikh Baghdadi mastered the ten righteous *qiraa’aat* (or recitations)[363] of the Qur’an. Furthermore, he studied and recited the Hadith under the instruction and guidance of Sheikh Muhammad al-Dirani, who himself was a student of Sheikh Badr al-Din al-Husni.

No sheikh was appointed successor to Sheikh Muhammad Hashim al-Baghdadi after his death. Instead, Sheikh Ahmad al-Natsheh (otherwise known as Abu Hamdi), a Jerusalemite and long-standing sheikh, became the reference for members of the order in Palestine.

Of the most important works authored by Sheikh Baghdadi was, "*dastour al-willaya wa muraqi al-'inaya aw matlab al-salik wa najat al-halek*" (lit., "The Constitution of the State and the Higher Attainment, or the Demands of the Wayseeker and Salvation for the Doomed").

One of his most important students was Sheikh 'Abd Allah Bin al-Sheikh Saleh al-'Umari, otherwise known as Sheikh 'Abd al-Malik. Sheikh 'Abd al-Malik was born in Sundala, a village in northern Palestine. His father was a renowned *hafiz*, or someone who has completely memorized and mastered the Qur'an. 'Abd al-Malik undertook his primary Islamic education in Acre in the Mosque of Sheikh Jarrar, after which he moved to the al-Azhar Mosque in Egypt to undertake a master's degree in Shafi'i jurisprudence and in Islamic education. He would become well-acquainted with the teacher and Sheikh Saleh al-Ja'afari, who was the sheikh of the Ahmadi-Idrisi Order. Sheikh 'Abd al-Malik became Sheikh Ja'afari's companion, and was guided and instructed by him for no less than eight years. After he completed his studies at the al-Azhar Mosque, he returned to Jerusalem and became one of the most prominent teachers at the al-Aqsa Mosque.

During his stay in Jerusalem, Sheikh 'Abd al-Malik also became the companion of Sheikh Muhammad Hashim al-Baghdadi, the sheikh of the Qadiri Order in Palestine. Sheikh Baghdadi would sanction 'Abd al-Malik in the covenant of the order, and endorsed and authorized him, in writing, with the entitlement to provide religious guidance and instruction in seeking the way of the Qadiri Order. Sheikh Baghdadi would grant Sheikh 'Abd al-Malik a privileged place amongst his brethren in Baghdadi's noble council. Sheikh Baghdadi even makes reference to 'Abd al-Malik in his famous book "*dastour al-wilaya*" (lit., "Constitution of the State").

After the death of his sheikh, Muhammad Hashim al-Baghdadi, 'Abd al-Malik devoted himself to serving the legacy of his late sheikh, focusing all his attention on examining and thoroughly researching Sheikh Baghdadi's texts and writings. Indeed, he would succeed in re-editing and re-printing the "*diwan bighiyat al-'ashiqin*" (lit., "Collection of Odes for the Purpose of the Lovers [of God]") and "*dastour al-wilaya*" (lit., "Constitution of the State"). He was also in the process of examining a text on prayer written by the late Sheikh Baghdadi when he passed away in 2008. During his life, Sheikh 'Abd al-Malik made frequent visits to Jordan and participated in an attempt to create a higher council for Sufism in Jordan.

There are many *zawaya* for the Qadiri Order in Jordan which were established while Sheikh Hashim al-Baghdadi was living. Followers of the order gather weekly in these *zawaya*, which include: the Qadiri *zawya* in the city of Zarqa which is administered by Sheikh 'Abd al-Hafez who succeeded the late Hajj Akram Nawas; the Qadiri *zawya* in the Jawfa area in the city of Amman, administered by Hajj Abu Hassan who succeeded the late Hajj Mustafa al-Bitar; the Qadiri *zawya* in the city of Irbid, administered by Hajj Mufleh who succeeded the late Hajj Khalifeh; the Qadiri *zawya* in the town of Russeifeh, administered by Hajj Ghaleb who succeeded the late Hajj Saqr; and, the Qadiri *zawya* in the city of Kerak, administered by Sheikh 'Awad al-Tarawneh.

Before he died, Sheikh Hashim al-Baghdadi appealed to Sheikh Ahmad al-Natsheh to safeguard and tend to the affairs of the brothers of the order. And, today, all the current sheikhs of the aforementioned Qadiri *zawaya* have endorsed Sheikh Nathsheh and consider him the sheikh of the Qadiri Order in Palestine and Jordan.

Fifth: The Kasnazani-Qadiri Order

The Kasnazani-Qadiri Order traces its origins back to Sheikh ‘Abd al-Karim al-Shah al-Kasnazan I, who was born in 1820 in the village of Kasnazan in the area of Nahiyeh (Qaradagh), in the Suleimaniyeh province of northern Iraq. He died in 1899 with a shrine constructed for him in Karbajna in northern Iraq.

The order calls itself the “Higher Kasnazani-Qadiri Order”, with its main headquarters based outside the Suleimaniyeh province. However, the name Kasnazan, which is the name used to refer to the family of the *Sayyed*-(Master)-Sheikh, is just an appellation which was given to the grandfather, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Karim I, meaning “the one who knows not” in Kurdish. Sheikh ‘Abd al-Karim earned this title because he cut himself off from people for four years and secluded himself in worship in the mountains of Qaradagh[364]. Whenever anyone asked about the sheikh, the response was always, “kasnazan” (or, “nobody knows”). Hence and from that time forth, this title became the commonplace title used by people to mark those of the Higher Kasnazani-Qadiri Order which was created and built through the lineage of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Karim I, his sons and his grandsons after him[365].

The Higher Kasnazani-Qadiri Order’s current sheikh is Muhammad ‘Abd al-Karim al-Kasnazan, who was born in 1938 in the village of Karbajna on the outskirts of Nahiyeh Sanq in the Kirkuk province of northern Iraq. As a child, he was raised in the ways of the order by his father, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Karim II (d. 1978), and became the successor and sheikh of the order immediately upon his father’s death. Indeed, under the leadership and guidance of Sheikh Muhammad ‘Abd al-Karim, the Higher Kasnazani-Qadiri Order would spread to all corners of Iraq, where, today, there is hardly a city, town or village which does not have a Sheikh Muhammad al-Kasnazan hospice, where aspirants frequent and where followers can visit. Sheikh Kasnazan would extend the scope of the order beyond Iraq, spreading its ways to other countries such as Iran, Turkey, the Caucasus Republics, India, Pakistan, the United States and several European countries[366].

Sheikh Muhammad ‘Abd al-Karim al-Kasnazan has authored numerous texts, the most important of which are “*anwar al-rahmaniyeh fi al-tariqa al-qadiriyya al-kasnazaniyya*” (lit., “The Merciful Illuminations of the Higher Kasnazani-Qadiri Order”), and “*mawsou’at al-kasnazan fima istalaha ‘alihi ‘ahl al-tasawwuf wal ‘irfan*” (lit., “The Kasnazan Almanac of Terms of the People of Sufism and of Gnosis”). His most important accomplishments include establishing the Center for Sufi Scholarship and Spiritual Studies in 1994, establishing the Sheikh Muhammad al-Kasnazan University College in Baghdad in 2005, and establishing the Central Council for Sufi Orders in Iraq in 2005[367]. The Higher Kasnazani-Qadiri Order is renowned for its use of swords and live bullets to manifest their miracles, which are considered proof of the authenticity of their order.

The Higher Kasnazani-Qadiri Order was introduced into Jordan with the intensification of sectarian violence in Iraq after the American led occupation in 2003, when aspirants and followers of Sheikh Muhammad al-Kasnazan began to attend Jordanian universities to continue their studies. Due to the increasing number of his aspirants and his followers in Jordan, and with the increase in the sectarian violence and threats in Iraq, Sheikh Kasnazan decided to relocate to Amman in 2007, settling in the Abdoun area in Amman. He established a *zawya* for his order in the North Marka area, which is dedicated to Jordanians only and where his Iraqi aspirants are not included in attendance[368].

Sixth: The Khalwati Order

The name of the Khalwati Order itself is derived from the Arabic term "*khalwa*", which refers to seclusion, retreat or isolation. This particular practice is a distinguishing mark of the Khalwati Order which traces its origins back to 'Umar al-Khalwati (d. 799 AH/1397 AD). Al-Khalwati gained this title due to his love of solitude and because he was renowned for isolating himself from others inside the trunk of a tree. However, paving the way for the order and its institutionalization is actually credited to Yahya al-Shirwani (d. 867 AH/1463 AD), who hails from the Caucasus.

Due to the vast number of the adherents and followers of the Khalwati Order, Sheikh Yahya al-Shirwani worked to build an institutional structure for the order. It was also able to curry the favor of the Ottoman sultans after the order was introduced to the Anatolia region at the end of the 9th century AH. Thereafter, it spread to other countries under Ottoman control, particularly Egypt, from whence it spread to the rest of the Arab world, including Jordan. The particularly elevated status of this order was evidenced in the fact that Ottoman Sultan Muhammad al-Fateh's spiritual teacher was a Khalwati sheikh. Indeed, the Khalwati is considered an enlightened order in its adherence to the Sunna, which advocates progressive attainment through the constant remembrance of God and of His attributes.

Contributing to the evolution, reform and spread of the Khalwati Order was Muhammad Bin Ahmad Bin Muhammad Karim al-Din al-Khalwati, who was one of the Sufi imams living in Khurasan in the 10th century AH, and who died in Egypt in 1578 AD. One of the most prominent revivalist sheikhs of the order was Sheikh Shami Mustafa al-Bakri (d. 1162 AH/1749 AD) who undertook a series of vast reforms inside the Khalwati Order, which bolstered its influence and spread significantly. During the second half of the 18th century AD, two of Sheikh Bakri's more important and well-known students were Sheikhs Hafni and Dardir, both of whom were al-Azhar scholars. Indeed, their diligence and scholarship

helped characterize the Khalwati Order as being an order with a revivalist spirit that displayed a correct adherence to the Sunna.

The Khalwati-Jami'a (Unity) Order was introduced into Jordan by Sheikh Kheir al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sharif. The order was called the "*jami'a*" or "unity" order because, in addition to the Khalwati tradition, the order managed to unite the traditions of eight different orders, which are the Rifa'i, Qadiri, Ahmadi, Dasouqi, Shadhili, Yashruti, Naqshbandi and Idrisi Orders[369].

The Khalwati-Jami'a Order was introduced into Jordan after the British exiled Sheikh Kheir al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sharif from the city of Hebron in Palestine to the city of Kerak in Jordan, due to his resistance and revolutionary activities against the British. In Kerak, he would stay at the 'Umari Mosque, where aspirants from Kerak began to flock to him and his righteous guidance in droves[370]. The profound respect Sheikh Kheir al-Din commanded amongst so many people, and the fact that crowds flocked to him and readily embraced his word, drove the British to lodge a complaint to King Abdullah I in which they professed that Sheikh Kheir al-Din was establishing an emirate inside the emirate. Consequently, King Abdullah I felt obliged to visit the sheikh to inquire about these allegations, to which the sheikh responded, "We have no political ambitions and we have no desire to govern in any way or form"[371]. Indeed, Sheikh Kheir al-Din did not even establish a *zawya* for himself or the order in Jordan; and, he would not remain in Jordan for long. In 1926, he went to the Hijaz to perform the rite of hajj and from there, he would return to his city of birth, Hebron, where he remained until he passed away in 1928 AD[372].

Sheikh Kheir al-Din left Sheikh Muhammad Abu Rajab al-Tamimi as his successor to the order. Sheikh Tamimi would subsequently serve the order until the mid-1970s when a conflict erupted inside the Khalwati-Jami'a-Rahmani Order over the sheikhdom of the order, its administration and its direction. The conflict led to a split in the order. Indeed, it culminated and reached its peak when

the Khalwati-Jami'a-Qasimi Order established the al-Qasemi Academic College of Education in 1989 in the city of Baka al-Gharbiya, under license from the Israeli authorities. Due to this licensing, Sheikh Husni al-Sharif accused the Qasimi sheikhs of the order in Baka al-Gharbiya of cooperating with Israel. The issue would remain heated between Sheikh Kheir al-Din and the Qasimi sheikhs, from 1989 until 1998, until the Qasimis removed the word "Rahmani" from the name of their order, so that they would henceforth be known as the Khalwati-Qasimi-Jami'a Order[373]. Indeed, where the Qasimi sheikhs viewed their dealings with the Israeli authorities as adapting to reality, the Rahmani sheikhs viewed it as a transgression from the order's historical legacy of struggling against occupation and oppression. With this rupture, the order split into two separate orders:

I. The Khalwati-Jami'a-Rahmani Order

When Sheikh Kheir al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sharif passed away, his son Hassan al-Sharif was still barely two years of age. Indeed, Hassan al-Sharif was born in 1926 AD or, only two years before his father's death. However, the boy would learn the ways of the order in Hebron, under the instruction of his paternal uncles and other aspirants who had been instructed by his father, Sheikh Kheir al-Din. Later, he would work in education. He left Palestine in 1951 and settled in the Wadi al-Seer area in Amman, Jordan. He established the Najah National School in Wadi al-Seer and would work as a teacher there, in addition to working as an imam and preacher in the Wadi al-Seer Mosque between the years 1960 and 1984. He remained a wayseeker of the Khalwati-Jami'a-Rahmani Order in Jordan until his death in 1984. He was buried in the Wadi al-Seer Cemetery in Amman[374].

Sheikh Hassan 'Abd al-Rahman was succeeded in the order by his son, Sheikh Husni al-Sharif, who was born in the city of Amman in 1964. Sheikh Husni was educated in Amman, receiving a bachelor's degree in Islamic studies. From an early age, he remained close to his father and he was instructed by his father in the ways of the Islamic *shari'a* and in the ways of attaining the gnosis of the Truth. Sheikh Husni became his father's companion and would remain under his religious guidance until his father's death. Four years after his father passed away[375] or, in 1988, Sheikh Husni al-Sharif was appointed as sheikh of the Khalwati-Jami'a-Rahmani Order in a ceremony attended by many important official and religious personalities, including Sheikh Asa'ad Biyoud al-Tamimi, Sheikh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sa'ih and Mr. Kamel al-Sharif, who was the secretary general of the Royal Committee for Jerusalem Affairs at that time.

Sheikh and Islamic jurist (*faqih*), Husni al-Sharif, established Dar al-Iman (lit., "The House of Faith") in Hay Jendawil in the Bayader Wadi al-Seer area in Amman, in 1990. Dar al-Iman houses a mosque for prayer, a *zawya* for the order and a hospice, with a soup kitchen for the needy and for passers-by, as well as a library. It is also the

headquarters of the Dar al-Iman Charitable Society. Sheikh Husni also founded another branch of the society called, Mathabat Dar-al-Iman and Shelter for Orphans in the Yadoudeh area in 1994, which was later moved to the Bayader-Wadi al-Seer area. In the latter institution the focus is on providing holistic care for orphans, who have no other form of shelter. It offers rehabilitation programs for orphans, as well as education and even assistance in facilitating their marriage. The shelter is housed in a seven-storey building in Bayader-Wadi Seer. Sheikh Husni would also establish another branch of the Dar al-Iman Charitable Society in Hay Jendawil in Amman in 2001. A branch was also established in Ghor area of the Jordan Valley which includes the Dar al-Iman Hospice for the Poor, the Dar al-Iman Cultural Center and the Dar al-Qur'an al-Karim, in addition to a program developed for assisting university students. He also established the Durat al-Sharif Pre-School and School on Airport Road, in Amman, where students are educated up until the seventh grade[376]. He has also authored several texts, the most important of which include, "*al-dalalat al-nouraniyya*" (lit., "The Illuminating Signs") and "*al-taqreeb bayn al-madaress al-islamiyya wa dour al-tasawwuf fih*" (lit., "Convergence between Islamic Schools and the role of Houses of Sufism in Them").

II. The Khalwati-Jami'a-Qasimi Order

The Qasimi branch of the Khalwati Order was founded by Sheikh Husni al-Din al-Qasimi (d. 1944), who was in charge of administering the affairs of the order in Hebron, immediately upon the death of Sheikh Kheir al-Din al-Sharif. Sheikh Qasimi was granted a covenant and sanctioned in the ways of the order by Sheikh Hassan Hussein 'Amro (d. 1919)[377], who is considered one of the forefathers of the order in the area. Sheikh 'Amro also instructed and sanctioned Sheikh Kheir al-Din al-Sharif in the ways of the order[378].

After the death of Sheikh Husni al-Din, the order was handed over to Sheikh 'Abd al-Hay al-Qasimi (d. 1962), who migrated from Palestine to the Jordanian city of Irbid after the *Nakba* of 1948. During his stay in Jordan, Sheikh 'Abd al-Hay established a *zawya* for the order in the city of Zarqa in 1960[379]. He was succeeded in the order by Sheikh Yassin al-Qasimi (d. 1986), who continued to conduct intermittent visits to aspirants of the order in Zarqa. Sheikh Yassin also established a *zawya* for the order in the Bayader-Wadi al-Seer area in Amman in 1984, which was called "*Zawyat Atba' al-Sharif*" (lit., "The Zawya for the Followers of Sharif")[380]. Sheikh Yassin would be succeeded by Sheikh Muhammad Jamil al-Qasimi (d. 1988), and thereafter, Sheikh 'Afif al-Qasimi (d. 1998). In 1998, guidance in the order was taken over by Sheikh 'Abd al-Raouf al-Qasimi, who is still head of the order today. Sheikh 'Abd al-Raouf resides in the city of Hebron in Palestine, and occasionally travels to visit his aspirants in Jordan.

From its headquarters in Palestine, the Khalwati-Jami'a-Qasimi Order is active in promoting and disseminating culture and education. It has endeavored to attain these goals through several means, such as establishing *zawaya*, conducting courses on the Islamic *shari'a*, building libraries such as the one at the al-Qasemi Academic College of Education, and encouraging research, development and writing in all scholarly disciplines. The order also assists certain individuals by providing scholarships, enabling them to continue their university studies and to obtain degrees

from higher education institutions. Indeed, these ongoing efforts were crowned by the order's establishment of the al-Qasemi Academic College of Education, which works towards increasing knowledge and learning in a diverse range of disciplines. It also established the Qasemi Polytechnical Institute to meet the needs of the information and technology age. It has continued with its philanthropic objectives by establishing research centers and scientific laboratories. It also recently founded the al-Qasemi High School, which is under the supervision and direction of the al-Qasemi Academic College of Education. It has launched its own educational radio station which broadcasts from the campus of the al-Qasemi Academic College of Education. The order also built a cultural center and a network of preschools called the al-Qasemi Early Childhood Centers. All of the latter are notwithstanding the order's many other activities such as holding conferences on a wide range of disciplines inside the al-Qasemi Academic College of Education and supporting members of its academic institutions and its order in participating in international conferences. It also convenes seminars and events on numerous occasions with the aim of promoting healthy interaction with society. Finally, it publishes the magazine, "*Jami'a*", which is a scientific and scholarly journal.

Seventh: The Naqshbandi Order

The Naqshbandi Order is considered the most prominent and widespread order in Central Asia. It is also one of the more important orders that has been able to preserve and maintain its Sunni identity and tradition and in confronting Shiism. This order considers itself the direct spiritual heir of the Khurasani doctrine and the school of the Mulamati[381] linked to the Khurasani doctrine, which focused great attention on asceticism, piety, devotion to God and reforming the internal (self). The Mulamati were organized under the patronage of Baha'uddin Naqshband (d. 791 AH/1389 AD), whereas the Naqshbandi Order considers Abdul Khaliq al-Ghujdawani the true sheikh of the order, as he was the one to introduce to the order a form of Sunna, which is intrinsically focused on *dhikr* or remembrance of God, or what the order calls "Essential *Dhikr"* and "Recollection" or "*dhikr* of the heart[382]", based on the example of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq[383]. Indeed, these particular forms of *dhikr*[384] have become a distinctive mark of the order.

The followers of the Naqshbandi Order would establish a set of rules that they practice, which are present in one form or another in Sufism, such as, "*muraqabat al-khutuwat*" or "watching your step", also known as "*nazar bar qadam*", "*muhasabat al-nafs*" or "holding the self, appetitive soul, accountable" or "self-censure" and "*al-khalwa fil julwa*" (lit., "seclusion in unveiling"), also known by this order as "solitude in the crowd" or "*khalwat dar anjuman*"[385], amongst others. And the members of the Naqshbandi Order refer to their order as the "Siddiqi" order, in reference to Abu Bakr al-Siddiq[386].

The underlying principle that underpins the ways of the Naqshbandi Order is the heed paid to ensuring harmony between the spirit of Islam, Islamic law and one's conduct. It was in this manner that this order was able to preserve the Sunna of practice amongst Muslims of Central Asia.

In the 9th century AH, at the hands of Sheikh Khwaja Ahrar[387] (d. 895 AH/1490 AD), the Naqshbandi Order was able to surpass and eclipse all other Sufi orders. Indeed, Sheik Ahrar's efforts led to the establishment of a vast economic network that protected peasants from oppressive taxation, and where he called forth on politicians and leaders to show respect for Islamic teachings and legal provisions.

The Naqshbandi Order was able to extend its reach to the Caucasus, Kurdistan and Anatolia, where the order curried the favor of the Ottoman sultans. Indeed, its influence would extend to the Arab world and to the Indian Subcontinent at the hands of Mujaddid-e-Alf Thaani al-Hijri Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1032 AH/1624 AD), whose book "*maktoubat*", which is a collection of 536 letters collectively entitled, "Collected Letters" or "Maktoubat", that is considered the definitive guide and treatise governing the Naqshbandi Order until today. It affirms and stresses upon the need to return to Islamic law and calls for emulating the ways of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and compels politicians and leaders to apply provisions and precedents set by Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). By the 11th century AH, Sirhandi's (Naqshbandi-) Mujaddidi Branch had extended its reach to China, the Arabian Peninsula and Indonesia. Indeed, this order remains one of the most extensive and widespread orders followed in the Islamic world, to date. This order also has a significant presence in most of the Arab countries, particularly in Iraq and in the Levant[388].

Numerous revivalist spiritual scholars would emerge from within the Naqshbandi Order, for example Khalid al-Naqshbandi (d.1242 AH/1827 AD), who was of Kurdish origin, but who settled in Damascus and adopted the reformative line of Ahmad al-Sirhandi. Sheikh Khalid, also known as Mawlana Khalid, enriched the order with new methods of instruction and with his call for stricter adherence to the spirit and word of the Islamic *shari'a*. One of Mawlana Khalid's most eminent students was the great Islamic Hanafi jurist (*faqih*) Ibn 'Abidin (d. 1251 AH/1836 AD). Indeed, the Naqshbandi-Khalidi Order would spread its influence

to the Caucasus, where it played a significant role in organizing the armed resistance against the Russian invasion. Imam Shamil (d. 1275 AH/1859 AD), who remained loyal to Sheikh Khalid al-Naqshbandi until his death, is considered one of the most famous symbols of this resistance.

The Naqshbandi Order in Jordan is represented by two branches: the Naqshbandi-Haqqani Order and the Naqshbandi-Kilani Order.

I. The Naqshbandi-Haqqani Order

The Naqshbandi-Haqqani Order traces its origins back to Sheikh Muhammad Nazim ‘Adel al-Haqqani al-Naqshbandi[389], who was born in Larnaca, Cyprus in 1922 AD. He was instructed in the ways of the Qadiri Order by his father; meanwhile, he would also be instructed in the ways of the Mevlevi or Mawlawi Order by his maternal grandfather. He began studying chemical engineering at the University of Istanbul in 1940 while simultaneously continuing his education in the Islamic *shari’a* and in the Arabic language under the instruction of Sheikh Jamal al-Din al-Assouni (d. 1945 AD).

In Istanbul, Sheikh Nazim al-Haqqani would connect with the Sheikh of the Naqshbandi Order there, Suleiman Erdorumi (d. 1948 AD). Haqqani would subsequently be instructed by Erdorumi in the covenant and ways of the Naqshbandi Order. Haqqani’s sheikh encouraged him to visit Syria, to which he complied, visiting Aleppo, Hama and finally, Homs, where he spent an entire year living at the shrine of Khalid Bin Walid[390]. In Homs, Sheikh Haqqani continued his studies in the Islamic *shari’a* under the instruction of some of the most renowned *shari’a* scholars, including Muhammad Ali ‘Ayoun al-Soud, Amin Fatwa Homs ‘Abd al-‘Aziz ‘Ayoun al-Soud, ‘Abd al-Jalil Murad and Sa’id al-Saba’i al-Naqshbandi, amongst others.

In 1944, Sheikh Nazim al-Haqqani moved to Tripoli, where he was hosted by Sheikh Munir al-Malik, the Sheikh of Sheikhs of the Sufi orders there. In 1945, Sheikh Nazim continued on to Damascus, where he met Sheikh ‘Abd Allah Fa’ez al-Daghastani al-Naqshbandi (d. 1973 AD), whom he accompanied and began to seek the covenant and way of the order under the latter’s instruction. After attaining the principles of the order and beginning his spiritual exercises under the instruction of Sheikh ‘Abd Allah al-Daghastani, Daghastani commanded Sheikh Nazim to return immediately to Cyprus. In acquiescence to his sheikh’s orders, Sheikh Nazim returned immediately to his homeland, which he had left five years earlier.

He began to spread the ways of the Naqshbandi Order to the island, with a large number of aspirants flocking to him and adopting the covenant of the order. During his stay in Cyprus, he traveled across the island and continued on to Turkey, Lebanon, Alexandria, Cairo and Saudi Arabia, as well as other cities and countries, spreading the word and the ways of the Naqshbandi Order. He returned to Damascus in 1952, and remained there for several years. During his stay in Syria, he still spent three months a year in Cyprus. He also made visits to Great Britain and the United States. His travels to North America resulted in the establishment of more than 15 centers for the Naqshbandi Order there, the most important of which is the Haqqani Convention and Retreat Center in Fenton, Michigan, which is considered the headquarters of the Naqshbandi Order in North America today.

The Naqshbandi-Haqqani Order's website states that, in 1955, Sheikh 'Abd Allah al-Daghastani issued a command ordering Haqqani to go into seclusion or *khalwa* for the first time. Haqqani went into seclusion in the area of Sweileh in Amman, Jordan, and stayed in seclusion for a period of six months, a time during which many Jordanian aspirants flocked to him.

After the death of Sheikh 'Abd Allah al-Daghastani, the affairs of the Naqshbandi Order were passed on to Sheikh Nazim al-Haqqani, who, in turn, appointed several sheikhs as representatives of the order in numerous countries. The sheikh that Sheikh Haqqani appointed to manage the affairs of the order in Jordan would be:

Sheikh 'Abd al-Salam Tawfiq Ahmad Shamsi

'Abd al-Salam Tawfiq Ahmad Shamsi was born in the village of Kfar Qana, in the Galilee area of northern Palestine in 1934 AD. When he reached a ripe level of maturity, he traveled to Turkey and remained there for seven years. From Turkey, he continued on to Damascus, Syria, where he became acquainted with Sheikh 'Abd Allah al-Daghastani in 1963 and, subsequently, served the sheikh for a period of ten years.

He moved to Jordan in 1998 by order of Sheikh Nazim al-Haqqani. In Jordan, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Salam Shamsi would establish a *zawya* in the Abu Sham Mosque in the Jabal Amman area, where, today, assemblies of *dhikr* are held after the *‘isha’* (evening) prayer every Thursday[391].

II. The Naqshbandi-Kilani Order

The origins of the Kilani – or Qadiri – Order are traced back to Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Kilani or Gilani (d. 1166 AD), who was the famous Sufi imam and renowned Hanbali jurist (*faqih*) who earned the title of “*taj al-ma’rifa*” or “the Crown of Knowledge”, and “*muhyi al-din*” or “Reviver of the Faith”, and “*sheikh al-shayoukh*” or “Sheikh of Sheikhs”.

Naqshbandi-Kilani sheikhs in Jordan include:

Sheikh ‘Abd al-Halim Mustafa al-Kilani
‘Abd al-Halim Mustafa al-Kilani was born in the city of al-Salt in 1888. He would never get the opportunity to learn the ways of the Qadiri Order from his father, Sheikh Mustafa al-Kilani (d. 1891 AD), because the sheikh died before ‘Abd al-Halim reached the age of five years. Sheikh ‘Abd al-Halim would eventually become the mufti of al-Salt and was a teacher of the Qur’an and of Islamic studies at the high school there.

He established a center for instruction in the Holy Qur’an in which he would continue teaching the sons of al-Salt, both young and old, for over 50 years. Indeed, seldom will one find a person from al-Salt, from that time, who did not receive instruction at the hands of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Halim. In the course of teaching the Qur’an to the sons of al-Salt, he also taught them how to read and write[392].

Sheikh ‘Abd al-Halim learned the ways of the Shadhili Order under the instruction and the guidance of Sheikh Muhammad Amin al-Ghudhuf, who came to al-Salt in 1910, and to whom tens of others flocked in order to receive instructions. Moreover, when Sheikh Nimatallah al-Naqshbandi visited Jordan from Damascus, ‘Abd al-Halim would attend all of Sheikh Nimatallah’s assemblies and would spend much time with the great sheikh. Indeed, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Halim was greatly influenced by Sheikh Nimatallah and would undertake the covenant and the way of the Naqshbandi Order under the latter’s instruction and guidance.

He would also be granted the covenant of the order from the Syrian sheikh, Sheikh Dimashki Isma'il al-Husari.

Sheikh 'Abd al-Halim would also become a representative of the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood in al-Salt. Indeed, he and Hassan al-Banna, the founder of the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, would correspond regularly[393] until the latter's death.

Sheikh 'Abd al-Halim passed away in 1968, leaving the following sheikhs as his successors to the order:

Sheikh Muhammad Amin Fahim Mustafa al-Kilani
Muhammad Amin Fahim Mustafa al-Kilani was the son of Sheikh 'Abd al-Halim's brother, as well as his son-in-law. He was born in al-Salt in 1926 AD, and his father, Sheikh Fahim (d. 1942 AD), was a Shadhili Sufi who named him Muhammad Amin after the Shadhili Sheikh Muhammad Amin al-Ghudhuf. Sheikh Muhammad Amin al-Kilani, thus, would be instructed and guided by his father in the covenant and way of the Shadhili Order. Later, he would take the covenant and way of the Naqshbandi Order from his uncle, Sheikh 'Abd al-Halim al-Kilani. In 1959, Sheikh Muhammad al-Amin would establish an Islamic school in al-Salt.

Sheikh Muhammad al-Amin would graduate from the al-Salt Secondary School in 1946. In 1956, he completed his higher education at the faculty of Islamic shari'a at the University of Damascus. Later, he was appointed to many posts including that of principal of al-Salt Secondary School in 1966, advisor to the Minister of Education in 1981, director of the Community College of Jordan in 1985, director of the Ali Bin Abi Taleb Secondary Shari'a School, and as Mufti of the Balqaa Governorate in 1971. He also continued his relations with the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood and was the deputy of the organization's representative in al-Salt, Sheikh 'Abd al-Halim al-Kilani. Local newspapers published many articles

written by him, notwithstanding the fact that he published his own book, entitled, "*insaf al-mara'a fil Islam*" (lit., "Equality for Women in Islam").

There are no *zawaya* representing Sheikh Muhammad al-Amin or any other sheikhs of the Naqshbandi-Kilani Order in al-Salt, or elsewhere in Jordan. However, Sheikh Amin conducts assemblies of *dhikr* in the Kilani family's *diwan*, a center for the communal use of the extended family, in al-Salt.

Eighth: The Tijani Order

The Tijani Order is one of the manifestations of revivalist Sufism. The Tijani Order was established by Ahmad Tijani (d. 1230 AH/1815 AD), who came from the Tlemcen region in northwestern Algeria. Tijani was a student of Islamic studies in Fes and would educate himself in the Sufism of many orders. He claimed that he saw the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in a dream in 1782 AD, and was commanded by the Prophet in this dream to establish his own order. He also claimed that he was the last of the Sufi elders. He considered the Tijani Order as both complementary and superior to previous Sufi orders, and prohibited his aspirants from joining any other order. He also proclaimed that any aspirant, who deviated from his order or disobeyed his command, would be subject to divine punishment and even death – a matter which provoked the wrath of both Sufis and Islamic jurists against him. However, Tijani would enjoy the patronage of the royal family while he was in Fes, and thus, was able to disseminate his order throughout Morocco and would establish an extensive network there. His paradigm was similar to that of the Shadhili Order in that he did not oblige his students to renounce worldly pleasures, but rather called on them to give constant thanks for these blessings. Indeed, he himself lived a life of affluence and comfort.

After the death of Tijani, the Tijani Order would spread across Muslim West Africa (Senegal, Guinea and Mali) through the efforts of followers such as ‘Umar Tal (d. 1280 AH/1864 AD). Under ‘Umar Tal’s leadership, the Tijani Order was even able to establish an Islamic state in parts of West Africa[394], which was subsequently toppled by the French in 1893 AD. The order was introduced into Sudan by the Mauritanian missionary Muhammad Bin al-Mukhtar (d. 1299 AH/1882 AD), where it became very widespread. Today, the Tijani Order is the largest Sufi order in Sub-Saharan Africa. The headquarters of the order’s caliphate is located in Ayn Madi, in the al-Aghwat region of southern Algeria, from whence the order continues to be disseminated and spread across Africa[395].

The Tijani Order was introduced into Jordan by a Moroccan sheikh named Ahmad al-Dadisi. Sheikh Dadisi used to give regular lessons at the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and established a Tijani *zawya* across from the Dome of the Rock. This *zawya* was continuously active with assemblies of dhikr conducted there until the 1950s. Thereafter, Sheikh Dadisi moved to the city of Jericho where he owned vast tracts of land and where he worked in farming all kinds of produce.

Meanwhile, Sheikh Dadisi continued to make intermittent visits to Jordan in which aspirants would flock to him for instruction and guidance. He died in the early 1980s and was buried in the Bab al-Rahma Cemetery in Jerusalem[396].

Sheikh Dadisi left behind the following successor in Jordan:

Sheikh Muhammad Mahmud al-Musaleh (known as Abu Salah al-Tijani)

Muhammad Mahmud al-Musaleh was born in al-'Abbasiya in Palestine in 1932. He moved to Jordan in the 1950s and settled near the Mahata Mosque in downtown Amman. He was invited to visit Sheikh Dadisi in Jericho in 1959 and took the covenant and way of the Tijani Order under Sheikh Dadisi's instruction and guidance. In Algeria, He would meet with Sheikh Muhammad Ahmad Tijani, who lived in Egypt, and was also instructed and granted a covenant in the order by Sheikh Muhammad Tijani. Sheikh Muhammad al-Musaleh works as a shoe cobbler and has a *zawya* near the Mahata Mosque in downtown Amman, where he also lives. Assemblies are held in his *zawya* after the *'asr* (afternoon) prayer every Friday[397].

Other Tijani Order sheikhs in Jordan are:

Sheikh Mansur al-Yemani

Mansur al-Yemani was born in 1959 and is the head of the Yemeni society in Jordan. He graduated from the Arab University in Beirut in 1982, and has a *zawya* in the Tabarbour area in Amman[398].

There are also indications that Syrian Sheikh Ali al-Dakar (d. 1943) instructed another group of sheikhs in Jordan in the covenant and way of the Tijani Order, including Sheikh Ali Salman al-Qudat and Sheikh Yousef al-‘Atoum[399]. However, none of these sheikhs established *zawaya* in the country.

Politicization and Accessibility: the Spiritual and the Temporal

In its creed, Sufism does not advocate any form of direct political engagement or association with political activities. However, and since its birth, Sufism has been grounded in spiritual principles that, in themselves, express a political stance with regard to the governing authorities and the general governance of society.

The term "politics" itself has been used to signify the management of the worldly and the corporeal affairs of the metropolis or of society. It later became more defined in terms of its meaning to signify how the leadership of the affairs of the metropolis or of society is governed or managed. What is meant by "leadership", here, is anything and all that is related to the practices of the governing authorities exercised at any given level of all the levels inherent to managing the affairs of the metropolis or of society. However, the term or wording "politicization" has taken on an even more specific signification; that is, the management of the affairs of the leadership of society or of the affairs of governing society on the basis that this is everything; and, that everything revolves around this; and, that nothing is above this.

Furthermore, when we consider that the management of the affairs of the leadership or of the governance of society is measured on the basis of purely material interests and gains – and, perhaps, most interests and gains are material; or, when we consider, on the other hand, that the management of the affairs of the leadership or of the governance of society is based on the quantity of knowledge acquired by the "politicized" – or is defined by a ceiling that is only

limited by the extent of the authorities' ambitions; then, it becomes easier to recognize why the "politicized" or "political" authorities do not allow for any other meaning to define "politics" that may extend beyond the scope of the material. Within this definition, the onus to go beyond a condition such as the condition of spiritual meaning is lifted from the human being; instead, the human being declines from demanding such meaning from a source described or perceived as a "higher" authority or as an authority that comes "from above"[400].

Within the context of Sufism, "politicization" differs from "political awareness" in that political awareness is perceived as working towards enlightening or envisioning the human being with the Sufi way of understanding the rational, causal and methodological requirements of the scholarly and "scientific" model, which defines the place and status of the human being within a certain systemized framework and organized structure. Political awareness should also work towards alerting the human being to the many faces of authority, and to the many implications and impact that authority will have on every human conduct that is in consensus with, or in conflict with, all the factors, provisions and rules that constitute the ordered and systemized structure to which that human being belongs.

Alternatively, "politicization" prohibits the admission or introduction of any factor other than the "political" factor in defining the individual, or in defining what society may require in terms of reform and change. At the same time, political legitimacy itself does not necessarily prohibit the admission or introduction of non-political or apolitical factors which contribute, along with political factors, to determining and defining the status of the individual, and in bringing about the necessary transformations required by society.

Sufism practices or engages in "politics" in this sense or in the sense of raising "public awareness" with regard to the "political" and with regard to "legitimacy". However, Sufi orders in Jordan hold

varying positions when it comes to the way they perceive "politics", which depend on the positions and views held or advocated by their sheikhs and elders. They do not have a common stance nor do they show consensus on any particular political position or posture. For instance, Sheikh Muhammad Sa'id al-Kurdi, who is considered one of the founding fathers of Sufism in Jordan, never engaged in politics or with the authorities and focused all his attention on matters related to guidance and education[401]. And, according to Dr 'Adel al-Sayyed al-Majeed, the Sufi orders in Jordan, as is the case with Sufi orders everywhere, are concerned with *tazkiyyat al-nafs* or purifying the [corporeal] self, and not with matters of, or related to, authority[402]. The postures held by Sheikh Kurdi and Dr Majeed are endorsed by Sheikh Husni al-Sharif, who says, "We have no business in politics, at any level. We only work on reforming the individual; if the individual is reformed then society is reformed. Indeed, our creed is 'We seek refuge in God from the devil and from politics'"[403]. Sheikh Muhammad al-Musaleh says, "We do not meddle or interfere in politics, as we do not meddle or interfere with any and all persons. Our relationship is with God alone. In the words of our Sheikh Tijani, 'Politics is foolishness'[404]"[405].

Indeed, despite a lack of consensus on political postures, it would appear that Sufism in Jordan, in all its orders, perceives politics with a view that it is a scourge that will plague any movement – reformative, revolutionary or otherwise. Politics is perceived as a curse that will drag any movement to all sorts of levels of struggle, conflict, retaliation, rivalries and jealousies, which will eventually force a movement to deviate from its, perhaps, initially conceived and intentioned humanitarian course.

Finally, despite the clear differences between Sufis and Sufi orders on particular issues, they all consider themselves part of a spiritual revolution which seeks to reform the appetitive ego and corporeal self, and seeks to discipline and purify this ego and self, and to rid it of its vices and to imbue it with virtues – all with the spiritual aim of attaining absolute *iman* and the level of *ihsan*[406].[407]

Sufism endeavors to work towards the Hereafter, as a religious movement that derives its legitimacy from religion, itself, and from the original and founding references of Islam – the Holy Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet – all of which call for asceticism and devotion in one's servitude to God. However and despite this ultimate religious intention and spiritual goal, the birth and the rise of Sufism point to factors other than the purely religious – factors which were quite political, social and cultural. Indeed, Sufism would historically evolve in juxtaposition to what early Islam experienced in terms of political chaos, strife, internal wars and all that accompanied these conditions, manifested in a sense of collective spiritual stress and social injustice and in enormous gaps of inequity between classes. Certainly, all these factors went well beyond the religious, but also inevitably nurtured the calling for a pious soul and for asceticism[408].

It is in these contexts that Sufism expressed a political stance in its different "religious" levels. It is subsequent to these contexts, that Sufism followed a course in its development that revealed profound transformations in its structures, compositions and relationships with the governing authorities. The political, cultural and social context in which Sufism developed factored into the changes that Sufism underwent – from being an individual experience of elitist character to a more en masse, social manifestation and phenomenon by the 11th century AD. Finally, Sufism would settle into forms of popular "*turuq*" or "orders" by the 17th century AD, which would not have continued or flourished without the support and patronage of the governing authorities; and, alternatively, the governing authorities would not have safeguarded Sufism had Sufism not supported these authorities.

Eventually, a formula of "loyalty-patronage" would govern the relationship between the Sufis and the governing authorities, although this formula was not always consistent in its manifestations. Historically, the political behavior of Sufi orders would oscillate between opposition and loyalty. Similarly, the governing authorities' support for Sufism would wax and wane

during different periods. With this, Sufism never internalized a tradition of confronting or conflicting with the authorities or of direct struggle, with the exception of situations where foreign forces occupied Islamic countries, as was the case during the colonial period.

Even in the case of how to deal with colonialist authorities, differences and contradictions arose between Sufi orders. Some orders would eagerly take on the creed of resistance and *jihad* while others adopted a strategy of loyalty and submission to colonizing powers and their local administrations. For example, in Egypt, the positions taken by the different Sufi orders regarding the British colonialists were dichotomous: the Ahmadi Order chose to cooperate with the colonialists while the 'Azmi Order chose resistance. In Sudan, the Murghani and Khatmi Orders supported the colonial administrations, while the Mahdawi Order adopted armed resistance and *jihad*[409]. Meanwhile, in Libya, where the majority of Sufi orders opted to collude with the Italian colonialists, the Sanousi Order chose a path of direct confrontation and resistance. In Algeria, Amir 'Abd al-Qadir, who was the head of the Qadiri Order, would emerge as a nationalist leader in the resistance and struggle against the French colonialists; and, the Qadiri Order was joined by the Rahmani, Sanousi and Darqawi-Taybi Orders against the occupation of Algeria, while the Tijani Order took the side of the colonialists. Finally, this scene of Sufi contradictions between "loyalty" and "resistance" against the colonizers was repeated across the Arab and Islamic map, where all the countries of these worlds were occupied by a colonialist power at one point in time[410].

However, Jordan would emerge as an exception to this rule, being the one Arab and Islamic country which would not witness similar conflicts amongst the local Sufi orders, as the orders in Jordan were still quite small and significantly weak during the period in which Jordan came under colonial rule. Furthermore, the Jordanian national identity was not wholly autonomous during the period of its formation; and the Sufi orders, introduced into

Jordan at that time, still belonged to an overall geographic and cultural environment that existed within the framework of the Ottoman state. Finally, these orders were introduced into Jordan from other origins in the Arab and Islamic world, particularly Iraq, Syria, Palestine and the Arab Maghreb; and, thus, they tended to follow whatever stances were held by their sheikhs and elders outside Jordan.

After the demise of the colonial era and the independence and rise of the nation-state in the Arab world, the majority of Arab national regimes – despite the political and socio-cultural systems adopted by these new regimes – worked to internalize Sufism within their ideological system and within the state apparatus. Indeed, these regimes intended to support and institutionalize Sufism in order to employ it as a means of bolstering their legitimacy as regimes, and in confronting the rise of political Islam and the movements growing within political Islam[411].

The French professor and Islamic scholar specialized in Sufism, Eric Geoffroy, remarks on the approach taken by the Arab nation-states, saying, “We clearly see that the Arab regimes worked towards integrating Sufism into the system of governance with the aim of combating the rise of the Islamists. Indeed, the Moroccan Minister of Religious Endowments and Affairs, Ahmad Tawfiq, is a Sufi. Similarly, the former Grand Mufti of Egypt, Sheikh Ahmad al-Tayyeb, is a Khalwati Sufi, who was also appointed as the dean of al-Azhar University. And, in Algeria, we also see that Bouteflika is very close to Sufism, a fact clearly demonstrated in his last campaign”[412].

In Jordan, Prince (and later King) ‘Abdullah Bin al-Hussein would also work towards integrating Sufism into the institutional framework and the state apparatus of the Emirate in 1921. Furthermore, and despite the fact that Prince ‘Abdullah could trace his Hashemite lineage to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), he nevertheless adopted a conservative-secular approach, which was based on a nationalist and liberal vision for the state. In this

vision, Islam was seen as forming part of the national identity, but also that the national identity was not contingent upon Islam. Certainly, the Jordanian state's vision of Islam was to be moderate and centrist. It would not uphold any tendencies that pointed to aggressive or violent jihadist notions, nor would it condone the politicization of the religion in the form of movements or political engagement. Indeed, this overall vision of the religion developed by the state also aptly applies to Sufi representations of Islam.

Thus, one will find that the great majority of the sheikhs who accompanied Prince 'Abdullah, and who helped establish the religious institutions of the state, belonged either to Reform Salafism which is close to Sufism, such as Sheikh Kamel al-Qassab and Fuad al-Khatib, or belonged to Sufism itself and to the orders of Sufism, such as Sheikh Muhammad Khudor al-Shanqiti and Sheikh Muhammad Habib al-Shanqiti – both of whom were followers of the Shadhili doctrine, for the most part, but practiced a form of individual Sufism where they never established *zawaya* – and Sheikh Ahmad al-Dabbagh, who did establish a *zawya* in the southern city of Ma'an[413], as well as Sheikhs Hamza al-'Arabi, Mahmud al-Ramini and Muhammad al-Salik al-Shanqiti – all of whom were Sufis[414].

However, and despite the fact that the majority of Prince 'Abdullah's lineage are practicing Sufis, the Hashemites would institutionalize an independent, official form and line of religiosity for the state which would specifically work towards reinforcing their religious legitimacy and which would work towards defending and adopting the policies of the state. In line with this effort, the most important religious institution in the Jordanian state is the Ministry of Awqaf (Religious Endowments) and Religious Affairs[415]. And, most of the men appointed to the ministry's portfolio have been moderate Islamists, who did not show specific or open Sufi tendencies, but rather came from all the Islamist currents that the state supports and has co-opted into the official religious structures of the state. Alternatively, the institution of the Department of Ifta[416] has been overwhelmingly dominated by Sufi religiosity and

tendencies. Indeed, since the days of the Emirate, Sufis have been appointed to run this department, with Sufi Sheikh Hamza al-'Arabi appointed as the first official grand mufti of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan by royal decree in 1941.

With the enactment of the Awqaf (Religious Endowments) Law in 1966, the grand mufti became linked to the Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs. In 2006, a law was issued which granted autonomy to the Department of Ifta and granted the grand mufti a stipend and the status of minister of state. As previously stated, the majority of those appointed to the post of grand mufti in the kingdom have been Sufis, such as Sheikh Muhammad Fal al-Shanqiti, Sheikh Muhammad al-Amin al-Shanqiti, Sheikh 'Abd Allah al-Qalqili, Sheikh Muhammad 'Adel al-Sharif and Sheik Nuh Ali Salman al-Qadat[417]. Additionally, Sufism has predominantly led the direction of the Religious Advisory Section in the Jordanian Armed Forces, where the mufti of the armed forces has been a Sufi since the time this section was established. Indeed, the first mufti of the armed forces was Sheikh 'Abd Allah al-'Azab, who was also one of the students of Sheikh Ahmad al-Dabbagh, a well-known Sufi who established an important *zawya* in the city of Ma'an[418]. Sheikh Nuh al-Qadat was appointed to this post in 1972, after al-'Azab. The post of supreme judge has also been held by a Sufi since the post was created in 1921, with Sheikh Muhammad al-Khudor al-Shanqiti appointed as the first supreme judge, succeeded by Muhammad al-Amin al-Shanqiti, who was then followed by Nuh al-Qadat[419].

According to Fulya Atacman, who conducted a comparative analysis between the cases of Turkey and Egypt and the relationships between Sufi orders and the governing regimes after independence and during the period of the formation of the nation-state – an analysis that also aptly applies to the Jordanian case –, most Arab countries preferred integrating Sufi orders into their new political structure. This general trend, however, does not mean that Sufi orders never took stances of opposition against these states and their regimes. Indeed, it is difficult to generalize

about the positions taken by different Sufi orders with regard to the authorities and the state, as one will find examples of both cases, where orders have opposed or supported the state. In other words, the political positions held by Sufi orders often changed; and they evolved and oscillated from support to opposition depending on the socio-political circumstances of each country, at different times in the history and in the development of each country.

For example, despite the fact that Sufi orders were banned in Turkey (by Ataturk), several of these orders have developed protected relations with different political parties, including the Republican People's Party. Turkish Sufi orders have adapted to the new multi-party political system, and have become a functioning part of the political order and reality in Turkey. In fact, the National Order Party in Turkey, founded by Necmettin Erbakan and his colleagues, was actually established by Naqshbandi-Khalidi groups (the Hanafi Jombush-Melli branch) with support from the Nourshu group. Today, very important persons in Turkey, including Recep Tayyip Erdoan of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), were once members of the Naqshbandi movement.

In the case of Egypt, and from the time of the Ottoman period, the authorities have continuously been involved in the work of the Egyptian Sufi orders. In 1895, the Egyptian authorities established the Supreme Council of Sufi Orders, with the underlying goal of this initiative being to monitor the activities of the orders in Egypt. And, although a law on Sufi orders was revised in 1903, today, the internal statutes and organizational structure of the Supreme Council of Sufi Orders in Egypt are governed by Law 118 issued in 1976. This law stipulates that the supreme council be composed of 16 members, of which 10 are elected by the 73 Sufi orders recognized by the state, for a 3-year term. One seat is then reserved for a representative of the Grand Sheikh of the al-Azhar Mosque, with another seat reserved for a representative of the Ministry of Religious Endowments. Two seats are reserved for a representative of the Ministry of Interior and a representative of the Ministry of Culture, respectively. Two seats are also reserved for a

representative of the Public Security Forces and a representative of popular organizations. The latter six seats of the councils are appointed by the government, while the ten seats representing the orders are elected by the sheikhs of the Sufi orders recognized by parliament. Meanwhile, the chief or head sheikh, or "sheikh of sheikhs" of the supreme council is appointed directly by the president of the republic.

The Supreme Council of Sufi Orders in Egypt is responsible for supervising Sufi practices and activities, and is responsible for recognizing and endorsing new orders. It also has the right to issue prohibitions on practices and activities by groups or individuals, who claim they are part of a Sufi movement, but are not registered with the council. However, in reality, numerous Sufi orders and branches exist in Egypt, which are not officially registered with the council and whose Sheikhs do not require recognition by the state in order to exercise their authority[420].

The Jordanian state, itself, has put forth several initiatives aimed at establishing a higher council for Sufism and Sufi orders in Jordan, based on the Egyptian model and experience. However, these attempts have failed for various reasons. Perhaps this failure can be attributed to the state's impetus for establishing such a council, which some view as being marked by an underlying motive to employ this council to confer legitimacy on the regime. It has also been seen in the context of an investment in the confrontation against the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood and other forms of Political and Jihadi Islam that began to emerge in Jordan in the 1980s. The Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood has particularly become a target of the regime, as it has become the greatest political force of opposition against the regime, recently transformed from being one of the regime's main allies to becoming the regime's main adversary. The Jihadi Salafists have also become a source of major concern for the regime, as the group officially rejects the legitimacy of the state and believes in the use of armed force to bring about change.

Sheikhs of the Sufi orders in Jordan have also been in conflict over the issue of establishing a higher council for Sufism, as they also differ in their opinions over why this initiative has failed. Sheikh ‘Umar al-Sarafandi says, “It is a matter of divine command that has not allowed for a higher council for the Sufi orders to exist in Jordan. Indeed, I visited Dr ‘Abd al-Jalil and Sheikh Nasser al-Khatib; and, the latter asked me, ‘Would you accept Dr ‘Abd al-Jalil as the head of the higher council of the Sufi orders?’ to which I replied, ‘No’. He then asked me, ‘Then who do you suggest should be the head of the council?’ and I replied, ‘We should gather all the sheikhs of all the orders to pray; then, tell them to go home and sleep. And, whoever of these sheikhs has a vision of the Prophet (PBUH) putting a cloak over him is the sheikh I will accept as head of the council, even if that person is only a small child”[421].

On the same issue, Sheikh Hammad Abu ‘Awad relays the following account, “After Sheikh Sa’id Hawa came to Jordan from Hama, he made an attempt to unite the Sufi orders in Jordan under the umbrella of a higher council. Sheikh Hawa called for a meeting, which was convened at the home of Sheikh Muhammad ‘Adel al-Sharif, in Jabal Hussein in Amman, at the end of the 1980s. I attended this meeting and I remember the sheikhs who were present at this meeting. They were ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh, Hassan al-Razouq and Muhammad ‘Adel al-Sharif. The rest of the sheikhs sent representatives. Sheikh Muhammad ‘Adel al-Sharif dominated the meeting and was very harsh with those who arrived late to the meeting – a matter which led to creating a charged atmosphere. Thereafter, a conflict broke out between them; and, the idea never succeeded”[422].

Meanwhile, Sheikh ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Khayat tried to unite Sufism under the same kind of initiative when he was Minister of Awqaf and Religious Affairs in the early 1990s. However, the sheikhs of the Sufi orders understood this initiative as being “official”, and felt that they (and the council) would be used to issue *fatwa*s in support of the state and in support of state policy. There was a

consensus that this was an unimportant mandate for them, as Sufis, and the initiative was rejected from the onset.[423]

Sheikh Nasser al-Khatib offers yet another account: “In 1985, late King Hussein asked Ahmad Halil to coordinate a meeting for him with the sheikhs of the Sufi orders. The latter coordinated with then Minister of Awqaf and Religious Affairs, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Khayat, and a meeting was set for all the sheikhs of the Sufi orders. Halil and Khayat chose Sheikh ‘Umar al-Sarafandi as the representative of the Rifa’i Order and not me, for fear that I would speak before the king, and that he would be impressed by me and try to get me closer to him. The goal was not to form a higher council for Sufism to meet the needs and the interests of the Sufis, but rather to offer Sufi loyalty and support to the regime. Basically the offer put forth to the Sufi sheikhs by Halil and Khayat was representative of an attempt to entice the Sufi sheikhs to lend support to the Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs in return for tempting stipends and benefits. I rejected this offer, myself, and said that this would harm both the Sufis and the Hashemites. When the state became convinced that the Sufis would not benefit them in any way, the idea was abandoned. And, in 2004, the idea of convening regular meetings for the sheikhs of the Sufi orders in order to facilitate coordination between them was put forth. The goal of these meetings did not necessarily have anything to do with forming a higher council for Sufism. However, this initiative also failed. There would be no higher council for Sufism in Jordan, because Sufism is not ‘organized’, and every order that is transformed into an organized party is doomed to become either an instrument in the hands of the security apparatus or an instrument in creating divisions and conflict[424]”.

Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh presented a more detailed account on the matter, saying, “Sometime in 1986, Sheikh ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Khayat called all the Sufi sheikhs to a meeting. I was one of the sheikhs who attended. Al-Khayat said to us, ‘King Hussein has expressed the desire to establish a higher council for Sufism in Jordan, similar to the one in Egypt’. I asked him,

‘Excuse me, but is the king expressing this desire ‘officially’, or is it merely a suggestion?’ He replied, ‘This is a desire expressed by our king’. So, I suggested that a delegation be formed to meet with the king. And, in fact, a delegation of four individuals was formed, including Amin al-Kilani, ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh, Dr ‘Abd al-Jalil ‘Abd al-Rahim and ‘Abd al-Malek, who was the student of Sheikh Muhammad Hashim al-Baghdadi. It later became clear to us that the idea was actually that of the intelligence services in coordination with the Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs. The idea of establishing a council was again put forth in 1994, but that initiative also failed”[425].

Dr ‘Abd al-Jalil ‘Abd al-Rahim offers yet another account, where he says, “At the end of the 1980s, King Hussein mandated his advisor at that time, ‘Izzidin al-Tamimi, with the task of establishing a higher council for Sufism. He approached me through the deputy supreme judge who was, at that time, Sheikh Muhammad al-Jammal. He expressed the king’s desire to establish a council to me, to which I replied, ‘I would establish such a council, but on two conditions: the first would be that this council be purely for the sake of God Almighty, and not for the purpose of being controlled by the state or employed to support the state; and second, that I be the head of the council, here (for the Sufis), and that you (al-Jammal) be the head of the council there (for the state). Al-Jammal said to me, ‘They do not want you even to be a member, in any case’. So, I refused to help him establish the council. They made repeated attempts at establishing the council, but these attempts all failed. The intention was that the higher council would play an important role in furthering the interests of the state. And, I would not rule out that the objective of the whole initiative was to inflict a blow to the Muslim Brotherhood. That is why the Brotherhood was so opposed to the idea of the establishment of a higher council for the Sufis”[426].

On the same subject, Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh says, “In 1990, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir ‘Issa, may he rest in peace, was presented with a proposal to unite all the Sufi orders in Jordan under one entity, for the sake of cooperating for the good of all.

However, the idea failed due to competitive souls and differences over the leadership. But, there is still the view that a higher council for Sufism in Jordan should be established.[427]

It appears that weaknesses in the Sufi orders in Jordan and the lack of clarity of their platforms and their goals prevented the establishment of a higher council for Sufism. This reality is notwithstanding the fact that all the sheikhs of the orders have admitted that conflicts and differences of opinions over the leadership of the council, and about the nature of the council also led to the failure of the idea. Finally, there were many differences of opinion between those who opposed and those who agreed with idea, its feasibility or its usefulness.

On another level and within another context, the relationship between the Sufi orders and the Arab regimes would reach its zenith following the events of September 11, 2001. The attacks against the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. revealed the level of complicity that the Arab Jihadi-Salafist ideology played in the unfolding of these events, and led the American administration to adopt the policy of the "War on Terrorism". Within the totalistic framework of this policy, or the "War on Terrorism", an ideological war was also adopted where the "ally" was embodied by the idea of "moderate Islam" and found its object of desire in Sufism and its orders.

Research institutes and think tanks embarked upon an unrelenting mission in which conferences would be convened, studies would be published and extensive networks created with Sufi orders, in cooperation and in coordination with the ruling Arab regimes. One of the first fruits of this environment was a study published in 2003 by the American research institute, the RAND Corporation, entitled "Civil Democratic Islam"[428], which concludes that Sufi groups are one of the presumed allies of the United States in the Islamic world. In 2007, the same institute produced a study entitled "Building Moderate Muslim Networks"[429]; and, in 2009, it produced a report that approached the subject of Sufism in the region in a study entitled, "Radical Islam in East

Africa"[430]. A 2005 report issued by the United States Institute of Peace entitled, "Political Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa"[431] would do the same. In the same context, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace would also publish an extensive study in 2007 on "Sufism in Central Asia"[432]. Finally, in March of 2004, the Nixon Center organized a conference entitled "Understanding Sufism and its Potential Role in US Policy"[433].[434]

This flurry of international activity and events coincided with a high level of movement on the Sufi scene in the vast majority of Arab and Islamic countries. This local activity unfolded in the context of policies that played upon the "loyalty-patronage" formula – where Sufism was co-opted as a "tolerant" ideology in a framework defined by a cold, cultural war, aimed at neutralizing extremism and militancy, and which worked to bolster the legitimacy of local regimes.

In Egypt, for example, many of the sheikhs of Sufi orders were members of the former National Democratic Party. The latter is in addition to the fact that the grand mufti of the republic and the sheikh of the al-Azhar Mosque are both Sufis[435].

In Algeria, Sufi orders enjoy wide support from the regime in return for their support to the regime. In the latter case, the Qadiri Order has been particularly important; and, it has become a pillar within the governing structure, in addition to the fact that this order played a major role in the victory of Bouteflika in the Algerian presidential elections of 1999 and 2004. In fact, one of the more important recommendations presented by the Algerian government's platform was a proposal by Dr Mahmud Boureka, one of the more active followers of the Qadiri Order in Algeria. This proposal included establishing an institution that unites all the Sufi orders with the aim of combating the spread of Salafism in the country, and safeguarding and preserving the role of the state as well as the Maliki[436] *madhab* as the main reference for religious guidance in the country.

Meanwhile, in Morocco, Sufi *zawaya* and their role were initially exploited more indirectly. Indeed, the Moroccan regime has always indirectly benefited from the kind of political culture that the Moroccan *zawaya* prescribe and propagate to their aspirants. But, today, the integration of these *zawaya* into the machinations of power and in government has exposed the more transparent and direct exploitation of these *zawaya*, with the aim of combating all other manifestations of political Islam. This exploitation has become even more obvious after the restructuring of the official religious domain, which has drawn new political-religious milestones meant to constrain the religious-political balance of power[437]. Evidence to the latter is the declaration made by the Moroccan Boudashishi Order, in all honesty and transparency, that their order does not have any interest in conflicts or in waging war against anyone. Indeed, the sheikh of the Boudashishi Order, Sheikh Hamza, persistently insists on the necessity of the unity of Moroccans, of all affiliations and inclinations; that they must abandon their differences and their conflict with one another and work towards what is in the interest of their country and its people; and that all Moroccans should support the Prince of the Faithful, His Majesty Muhammad VI, towards this ultimate purpose[438].

Also, in Libya, the Sufi orders supported the regime of Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi. Indeed, even during the popular revolution that was taking place during the period of 2011 in which this study was written, these orders issued several statements reaffirming their support for the regime.[439]

And, in Tunisia, during the reign of Zine el Abidine Ben Ali, Sufism enjoyed the patronage and support of the regime and became a part of the political system. Indeed, the role of Sufism was strengthened and expanded in Tunisia in order to lend the regime legitimacy, and to assist in combating the rise of political Islam, particularly the Ennahda Party (Hizb al-Nahda)[440].

However, in Jordan, attempts at employing Sufism in the same manner as other Arab countries, would fail. Indeed, the initiative to create a higher council of Sufi orders did not succeed, and Sufism has a presence in the Jordanian state apparatus, but only in an individual capacity and not as "orders". Finally, Sufism in the form of orders does enjoy certain benefits through their independent *zawaya*; however, these *zawaya* have not had much impact on the ground. Thus, the state has turned towards traditional Salafism, and has worked on creating alliances with traditional Salafists in the context of the state's strategy of combating political and Jihadi Islam[441].

On a regional level, the political postures taken by Sufis with regard to the popular revolutions currently taking place in the Arab world appear quite clear. The conduct of Sufi orders regarding these revolutions provoked Sheikh Yousef al-Qardawi to state that the Sufis had "stultified the Arab revolutions" within a poisoned political culture that equates opposition to regimes and leaders with sedition[442]. Indeed, the position taken by different Sufi orders oscillated between silence and condemnation. Sheikh Muhammad al-Shahawi, sheikh of the Shahawi Order and head of the Global Sufi Council, confessed that most Sufi orders – if not all of them – changed their attitudes after the January 25th Revolution in Egypt succeeded. In this regard, Sheikh Shahawi is quoted as having said, "With regard to the stance that the Sufi orders took towards the late regime and its leader (in Egypt), these positions were grounded in the principle of 'obey God and obey the Prophet and all those appointed guardians over you', which is a general principle shared by all Sufis. However, this principle does not mean to obey the guardian, who is at fault or despite his errors, but rather obey the righteous guardian with legitimate authority"[443].

It would appear that the political behavior of Sufi orders is clearly dictated by a form of crude realism. They tend to stand with whatever authority is in power, regardless of that authority's legitimacy and approach, and regardless of that authority's

political conduct. Thus, the switch in the posture of Sufi orders following the successes of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions was something that should have been expected.

Indeed, in these changing times and realities, Sufi orders have found themselves caught in a dilemma on two levels. The first is that they remain determined to adhere to their historical and original religious function, which is to act as a unique ideology that strives for spiritual salvation and the Hereafter, within the framework of its traditional institution – the "order". The second part of this dilemma is related to the knowledge that there is a need to modernize their approach and there is a need to begin engaging in political life through the institution of the political party. This dilemma has plagued Sufi orders, who find themselves split on these issues, with the majority of orders choosing to remain lodged in their traditions, while other orders have declared their intention of engaging in political life and participating actively in this domain through the formation of political parties.

Certainly, political transformations currently taking place within the Egyptian Sufi orders are indicative of an intention to take advantage of the Egyptian revolution to settle certain accounts. The first target was Sheikh 'Abd al-Hadi al-Qasabi, the head sheikh of the Supreme Council of Sufi Orders in Egypt, who was also a member of the former Egyptian regime's National Democratic Party and a member of the country's Shura Council[444], appointed by the former regime. In fact, after the Egyptian revolution, 15 Sufi orders issued a public statement calling for the resignation of Sheikh 'Abd al-Hadi al-Qasabi, as he was now considered part of the vestiges of the notorious National Democratic Party. Subsequently, and in the opinion of these 15 Sufi orders, the post of sheikh of sheikhs of the Supreme Council of Sufi Orders also needed to be purged of any connection with the former regime.

Alternatively, under Sheikh al-Qasabi's direction, the Supreme Council of Sufi Orders issued a statement, which was signed by the sheikhs of 45 orders, rejecting the establishment of political

parties in the name of Sufism. The statement also laid great emphasis on the opinion that Sufi orders should continue their activities as they have in the past – and, that this mandate shall not to be influenced by current affairs or by what is taking place today[445].

Meanwhile, to date, 18 Sufi orders, including the ‘Azmi, Shabrawi, Sharnoubi and Imbabi Orders, have declared their intention to establish a political party, which is in harmony with the needs of the current period and the requirements of the future, “in a quest for achieving the principles of citizenship and of social tolerance”. The sheikhs of these orders have also demanded that the Supreme Council of Sufi Orders be purged from any remnants and vestiges of the National Democratic Party affiliated with the former regime of Husni Mubarak. The statement issued by these orders declared, “We shall wait for the new (post-revolutionary) multi-party committee to submit its findings in order to determine what the nature of our new party will be. If the committee will not allow for religious parties, then it will be a political party that will include a diverse range of groups, under the auspices of the Sufi sheikhs. If the committee permits religious parties, then the Sufis shall definitely form a Sufi party, which shall be considered a political entity that defends and safeguards Sufism and unites the sheikhs of the Sufi orders, so that they may have social and political direction and efficacy, with the affirmation that there is nothing to prevent the establishment of a socio-political party which unites the Sufis, who are officially 15 million in number”[446]. In the meantime, Sheikh ‘Ala’ al-Din Madi Abu al-‘Azayim, sheikh of the ‘Azmi Order, has already declared that preparations are underway for the establishment of a political party called “*al-Tahrir al-Masri*”, or the Egyptian Liberation Party. He also declared that the platform of this party would include a diverse range of political and economic Egyptian personalities and would be a “civil” party, which shall be part of the overall framework of the Egyptian “reform front”[447].[448]

In the case of Jordan, the stances taken by the Sufi orders towards the popular Arab revolutions have differed. On the one hand, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Fatah al-Juneidi has stated, “We do not interfere with the unknown; God gave this king the power to rule and only God can oust him”[449]. Meanwhile, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh, says, “We look at the Arab revolutions in two ways: The first is that they are manifestations of the strife caused by the corruption of the rulers and the second is that predestination will prepare the way for an early reprieve in the emergence of the Imam al-Mehdi, the Long Awaited”[450]. As for Sheikh Husni al-Sharif, he says, “We support the popular revolutions in the Arab countries. However, we are not intervening in the call for reform in Jordan as we fear the incitement of ethnic discord and strife”[451]. Similarly, Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh supports the Arab revolutions, saying, “All the Arab revolutions are milestones paving the way for the emergence of the Awaited Imam al-Mehdi; and, this is a positive, divine matter indicative of the fact that we are now living in the age of the Awaited Mehdi. And, these demonstrations are a reward; and standing in the face of the tyrannical and unjust ruler is an obligation. For, the Chief of Martyrs, Hamza stood before an unjust man, advising him first to change his ways then, killed him. And, those killed in demonstrations, while calling for change and for reform and for the rule of the Qur’an and the Sunna, are martyrs. These revolutions are all signs that an Islamic awareness is spreading; and, that people are now convinced of the obligation to expel injustice. The greatest injustice is governance by that which was not sent forth by God, and to stand idly by to defend the Jews[452].

Indeed, the Sufi orders in Jordan have never rebelled against the system of governance or the regime in the country, with the exception of Laith al-Shbeilat, who is considered an anomaly in the history of Jordanian Sufism. For, despite his spiritual belonging to Sufism and despite the fact that he sought the Sufi path at the *zawya* of Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh for many years, Shbeilat is considered the greatest opponent of the regime in Jordan. He was arrested in 1992 on charges of establishing an armed movement,

called “*al-nafir al-islami*”, which allegedly was intended for carrying out militant activities against Israel. Shbeilat denied the allegations against him and considered these charges ridiculous, malicious and without basis. And, the outcome has been the reverse of what the authorities intended, with the credibility of Shbeilat’s *zawya* reinforced and bolstered by his arrest and his trial and by the repeated harassment and attacks to which he has been subjected over the years.

Otherwise, the vast majority of Sufi sheikhs in Jordan view the regime positively. This support for the regime can also be summarized simply by the fact that most Jordanian Sufis perceive the Jordanian monarchy as being legitimate in light of the mere fact that the ruling family belongs to the Hashemite lineage of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

Indeed, affirming this support, Sheikh Ahmad Radaydeh says, “It is pride enough that we live in this country in security and in peace and that the Hashemites accept alternative opinions and points of views. Of course, this does not mean that corruption does not exist and that we are not in need of reform”[453].

And, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Fatah al-Juneidi, says, “Our relationship with the ruler is founded in the Prophet’s Hadith that states, ‘the ruler is the shadow of God on His earth... so be patient until God brings forth his command’”[454].

Meanwhile, Sheikh ‘Umar al-Sarafandi stresses upon the Sufis’ affection for the Jordanian regime and their loyalty to Hashemite rule, saying, “We have love for the Jordanian regime because the king is from Al al-Bayt [the people of the house/those of the family] of the Prophet, peace be upon him, who urge the Holy Book and the Sunna upon all those that they love. What I know is that all the orders have love and respect for Al al-Bayt of the Prophet (PBUH) and all the orders venerate and appreciate Al al-Bayt of the Prophet (PBUH)”[455].

On the other hand, Sheikh Nasser al-Din al-Khatib stresses upon the principle of obedience to the guardian and upon the principle of counseling the guardian, saying, "It is our duty to safeguard the guardian, because he is the father of our house. And, if the father comes to harm, the house is destroyed. However, we provide counsel to the guardian. We counsel him and call upon him; and, we do not cheat him. We offer and provide the guardian with those who have special capacities and qualifications, in order to safeguard the public welfare and well-being. Finally, if there are any persons who can assist the triumph of Sufism and restore people to its care, it would be the Hashemites"[456].

Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh expresses his support for the regime, while preserving a sense of autonomy when he says, "We respect the regime. And, we are not troubled by or harassed by the security services. And, we do not receive any support from the state. It is enough for us to say that we respect them and they respect us. Our respect for them does not mean that we are affiliated to them, because the Sufi is free and does not like to be constrained or restricted by anyone. That is why we respect the regime, without selling ourselves to them. This is so that no one can say, 'the regime bought this or that sheikh' because that is when we lose the faith and trust of the people. And, we avoid confrontation with the state and we avoid criticizing it so that we are not subjected to any trouble or harassment"[457].

Sheikh Ahmad al-Radaydeh expresses his position regarding the regime, as follows, "Jordan enjoys the patronage of God Almighty for two reasons: the presence of Al al-Bayt in the seats of power and the tombs and shrines of the Prophet's *Sahaba* (Companions)"[458].

Meanwhile Sheikh Isma'il al-Kurdi says, "Sufis are neither with the state nor against it"[459].

In contrast to the other sheikhs, Sheikh Nasser al-Din al-Khatib points to the fact that the sheikhs of the Sufi orders in Jordan have adopted a double standard when it comes to the regime and the authorities. He claims that on the outside, Sufi sheikhs support the regime but internally, and with their aspirants, they oppose it. He says, "The Sufi sheikhs deal with the state with two faces. They say to the state, we are your righteous sons. But, when they are alone with their aspirants, they incite them against the state[460].

However, it can be argued that all the sheikhs interviewed for this study have confirmed their loyalty to the throne and to the royal family; and, they all consider the royal family as belonging to the way of Sufism. Indeed, many sheikhs recounted stories about King Abdullah I, King Talal and King Hussein, as well as many of the princes, seeking and receiving the covenant and ways of the path of Sufism – although they all disagree about which sheikh or under which order the royal family received instruction. All the sheikhs have also confirmed and stressed upon the fact that they do not receive any form of financial or material support from the government. They also all revealed that their relationships with the state, and especially the security services, differ from one another. Some orders have claimed that they have been subjected to harassment, while others deny that they have ever been troubled by either the state or any of its security services.

However, in the end, the modern Arab revolutions have begun to impose serious challenges for all the different Islamic movements, which, for decades, have worked within the systems of former and prevailing political regimes and governing authorities in the Arab world. Indeed, political life in the current revolutionary environment, demanding freedoms, will require that all the Islamic movements – whether they are missionary, Jihadi, political or social – review their platforms and doctrines.

It would appear that these transformations are already beginning to emerge in varying degrees amongst certain Sufi orders, which are beginning to show signs of this process of change, albeit at a

very slow pace. What is most probable is that the greater majority of Sufi orders will try to maintain and to preserve their traditional framework and their conservative socio-religious role. However, certain orders have shown an eagerness and willingness to engage in the horizons of modernization and political modernity through proactive political participation, and through the formation of parties and institutions, which will try to harmonize and combine between their tradition and modernization. Indeed, this eagerness arises from the reality and fear of losing ground both in terms of their influence and their following to other public fora, organizations and associations, which are calling for dialogue, communication and socio-political bonding and linkages – platforms which have been appropriated by the state for far too many decades.

Alternatively and until today, the vast majority of Sufi orders in Jordan have rejected the idea of establishing or transforming into political parties. Instead, the majority of Sufis stress upon the need to safeguard and preserve their traditional frameworks. For instance, Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh has affirmed that his order has not considered establishing a political party, saying, "I did not say that we will represent ourselves through a political party, as some newspapers claimed I have said. We will remain committed to the ways of our order and our educational and instructional model only". Sheikh Muhammad 'Abd al-Halim al-Qadiri says, "I prefer that Sufism remains the way it is, without political manifestations", while Sheikh Nasser al-Din al-Khatib cautions against the formation of Sufi parties, at the present time, saying, "Every order that is transformed into an organized party ends up either as an instrument of the security apparatus or an instrument to create divisions and conflict". Sheikh Ahmad al-Radaydeh confirms the latter claim, that the party is a corrupting agent which, for him, borders on heresy, saying, "The Islamic state did not have (political) parties. It was by virtue of the righteousness of the religion and the religiosity of the people that united them and made society one. The modern Islamic 'party', today, is only founded upon personal interests and nothing more"[461].

Despite the fact that many decades have passed since the founding of the emirate and then the kingdom in Jordan, the relationship between the state and religion remains problematic and ambiguous. The management of religious affairs remains under the administration of the security apparatus, as religion is still considered a security matter. Only since the 1990s, and at the initiative of King Abdullah II when he came to the throne, has any attention been given to religion in its capacity as a socio-cultural and socio-political agent. However, this particular focus would become especially entrenched after the events of September 11 in 2001 and the hotel bombings in Amman in 2005, when the royal court began to expound on this portfolio in a broader and more in-depth manner.

Jordanian Prince, Hassan Bin Talal, has emerged as one of the most prominent proponents and advocates of a more holistic model and vision of religion, locally and internationally. Amongst his efforts on this front are the numerous distinguished religious institutions he established such as the Royal Aal al-Bayt Institution for Islamic Thought in 1980 and the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies (RIIFS) in 1994; and, in that same year, 1994, he became the key contributor to the establishment of the Aal al-Bayt University. The latter institutions have all been founded upon a vision that is strongly rooted in the principles of dialogue, co-existence and tolerance between all the followers of the many different doctrines, creeds and juridical schools of the one religion, Islam, and the followers of all the other religions and faiths across the globe. Furthermore, in the reign of King Abdullah II, Prince Ghazi Bin Muhammad has been mandated with the task of supervising religious affairs at the royal court, with Prince Ghazi showing Sufi characteristics and tendencies as revealed by his book “Love in the Holy Qur’an”. With this, today, the management of religious affairs in Jordan has been split between the state’s security apparatus and the royal court, according to two very different visions – with the security perspective triumphing over the socio-cultural and socio-political outlook, until now[462] .

Conclusion

In the past and to this day, Sufism in Jordan has been confronted by many challenges which have diminished Sufism's strength and efficacy, and which have prevented its prevalence and its spread. Indeed, this religious current, the oldest of all the Islamic movements and groups in Jordan, has not proven capable of imposing itself in a manner strong enough to play an active and an effective role in the country's cultural, social and political life. Meanwhile, other Islamic movements and groups, more modern in their establishment and in their configuration, have triumphed over the Sufi current in Jordan, including Salafist movement in all their forms – missionary, reform and Jihadi –, as well as groups and movements representing Political Islam, such as the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood and its political arm, the Islamic Action Front.

Perhaps, the greatest challenge facing Sufism, today, is represented in its ability – or inability – to adapt and to renew itself in a sustained manner in the context of a world which is in a state of continuing modernization and perpetual change.

To date, Sufism has not invested in or taken advantage of the Jordanian state's tolerance towards Sufism or of state policies that have provided it with certain latitudes. Furthermore, Sufism has not responded proactively to any attempts or initiatives to revitalize and to reactivate its presence. Instead, it has continued to adopt a policy of asceticism in its approach and in its way of dealing with propositions which encouraged its penetration into

public life, such as the initiative to establish a higher council for Sufism. And, it has preferred to remain faithful to its historical model and to a traditional approach to its organization, its calling and its methods of mobilization.

Despite the presence and proliferation of many Sufi orders and *zawaya* in all the cities, towns, villages and refugee camps in Jordan; despite the cooption of Sufism into the official religious institutions of the state; and, despite the hegemony of Sufi men, for many decades, over important positions in the management of the state's religious policy and affairs in the Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs, the Department of Ifta and in the post of Supreme Judge, this authority has not translated itself to the ground in any significant way in public life or in any significant form in terms of a wider and more influential social presence.

However, what is positive to note is the ability of Sufism to adapt, to remain and to persist. It has contradicted and defied all the expectations presented by modernity and modernization, which predicted its extinction due to its traditionalist model and structure. It has remained steadfast in the face of violent and aggressive attacks launched against it by modernist and fundamentalist currents, which have accused Sufism of being ignorant, superstitious and harmful, in addition to allegations that it has been the source of the backwardness of Arab society and an obstacle in the path of an Arab renaissance and Arab progress.

Certainly, in the recent past, Sufi orders have proven more capable of reinforcing their presence and their efficacy, and have begun to introduce modern methodologies, approaches and tools to the ways in which they engage with one another and with society. Attesting to these initiatives to renew themselves, all Sufi orders, for example, have produced their own websites; the Rawasi Order has established a satellite television station; and, the Khalwati Order has taken inspiration from its Turkish brethren and has worked to establish numerous scientific, academic, social and economic institutions. Finally, other orders, such as

the Shadhili-Yashruti Order, have encouraged the participation of women and the activation of the role of women in their orders, in their work and in their activities.

Furthermore, in many parts of the Arab and Islamic world, Sufism and Sufi orders have proactively entered into domains related to modernization and development; many orders have managed to introduce profound transformations into their traditional structures. They have also begun to offer attractive approaches to guidance, such as the Turkish Sufi model, and have contributed to presenting a vision that is based on enlightenment, revival and renewal. Sufism has also been able to acclimate to the possibilities and the challenges of globalization and has achieved notable successes in the fields of culture and in politics.

However, on the Jordanian front, the larger Sufi orders, such as the Shadhili-Darqawi-Hashimi and the ‘Alawite Orders remain obdurate in adhering to their inherited traditions. The dynamics and mechanisms of modernization and renewal within these orders continue at an extremely slow pace. Finally, none of the Sufi orders in Jordan has opted to proactively participate in political life, nor are any of the orders contemplating the possibility of establishing political parties, at present.

Perhaps, the most important obstacles facing the reactivation of Sufism and its ability to further proliferate in a more widespread and more effective manner in Jordan are the manifestations that emerge from the divisions plaguing the Jordanian Sufi scene and the continual fragmentation of Sufi orders. Exacerbating matters is the obvious lack of powerful and influential references and personalities emerging from Sufism in Jordan, in general. The mere death of a sheikh of an order will often result in conflicts over the succession between that sheikh’s students and aspirants; and, more often than not, these conflicts over successions will result in rivals establishing their own orders and *zawaya*. This fragmentation is notwithstanding the animosity, enmity and accusatory culture that continues between rivals long after the initial conflicts end.

Indeed, these symptomatic states of affairs have manifested themselves in the Shadhili-Darqawi, Shadhili-‘Alawi and Khalwati Orders in Jordan. It was this rivalry and animosity which would rear its head during the attempts to institutionalize a higher council for Sufism. Certainly, some orders did not even try to cooperate or to participate in the initiative at all, while the orders which did participate, all fought over who would be the head of this council.

Finally, despite the effect and impact that modernization and fundamentalism, and specifically Salafism, have had on certain Sufi orders, the vast majority continue to maintain an ambiguous path in representing their identity and their approach. The obvious and manifest problem of consensus has prevented Sufism in Jordan from entering into a new phase of renewal in any clear manner. Perhaps the future of Sufism in Jordan is hostage to its ability to adapt, endure, defend and renew itself. Indeed, this future will depend upon Jordanian Sufism’s ability to review and reassess certain aspects of its doctrine and its practices in a quest to reinvent a vision capable of building new perspectives which can combine and harmonize between tradition and modernization and between the spiritual and the material.

Endnotes

1. This definition of the *nafs*, or "the appetitive soul, corporeal self", was taken from "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization; Garnet Publishing Ltd; 2007 p. 421. Other definitions of *al-nafs* or *an-nafs* include: The individual soul, in contrast to the *ruh* or "spirit"; the separative self; the single spiritual essence, the source of individual souls; [Reference: http://www.katinkahesselink.net/sufi/terminol.html] [Translator's note]

2. **This process is otherwise** known as *tazkiyya*, which literally means "purification and cleansing" of the nafs. More precisely, *tazkiyya* is an Arabic-Islamic term referring to the process of transforming the *nafs,* in its carnal self or desires, from its state of ego-centeredness through various psycho-spiritual stages towards a level of purity and submission to the will of God. [Reference: "Tasawwaf and Tazkiyya", by Sheikh Imran Ibn Adam; found on the following link: http://www.khanqah.co.uk/] [Translator's note]

3.The lexical meaning of *ihsan* is to do good deeds, to help, aid, support etc. In the religious sense, the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) [PBUH] said of *ihsan*: "It is to worship God as if you see Him, and if you cannot achieve this state then you must remember that He is seeing you" (roughly worded). [Reference:http://www.sufism.in/sufism/ihsan.html]
Also, refer to *fatwa* no. 87148; Muharram 4, 1425/25-2-2—4: on the meaning of *Islam*, *iman* and *ihsan* and which states the following: *Islam has three stages: Islam, Iman and Ihsan:*
Islam: The meaning of Islam is as defined by the Prophet (PBUH) when he was asked by the Angel Gabriel (PBUH): "To testify that none has the right to be worshipped but God and that Muhammad is His Prophet (PBUH), to establish the prayers, to give *Zakah*, to fast the month of

Ramadan, and to make pilgrimage to Mecca, if one is able to do so." [Reported by Muslim and others]
Iman: The Prophet (PBUH) said that *iman* is, "To believe in God, His Angels, His Books, to believe in meeting Him, to believe in His Messengers, the Resurrection and the Predestination." [Reported by Bukhari, Muslim and others]
This is the meaning of Islam and *iman* if they are mentioned in one context. However, if only one of them is mentioned, then each one encompasses the meaning of the other one. If the word Islam only is mentioned, it includes the meaning of *iman*, and vice-versa. By the definitions of Islam and *iman*, we see that *iman* is about inwardly actions, and Islam is about outside actions.
Ihsan is exclusively the highest status of religion, its meaning is, "To worship God as if you see Him, and if you do not see Him, He sees you". This is the definition of *ihsan* as stated by the Prophet (PBUH). That is to say that *ihsan* has two stages: the highest one is to worship God as if you see Him; if you cannot attain this status of worship, then worship Him being certain that He sees you and that He is All-Aware of your actions and deeds. [Reference: http://www.islamweb.net/emainpage/index.php?page=showfatwa&Option=FatwaId&Id=87148] [Translator's note]

4. The Prophet's Sunna, Hadith (in Islam) is the way of life prescribed as normative for Muslims on the basis of the teachings and practices of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and on accepted interpretations of the Qur'an. [Reference:http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=sunnah] [Translator's note]

5. In the glossary of "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism" *zuhd* is defined as renunciation; abstention from the delights and allure of this world; asceticism [Reference: "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization; Garnet Publishing Ltd; 2007 p. 425]. References to *zuhd* or asceticism abound, with the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) being quoted as having said, "What have I to do with worldly things? My connection with the world is like that of a traveler resting for a while underneath the shade of a tree and then moving on." Asceticism, which literally means renouncing worldly pleasures and resisting carnal desires, is defined by Sufis as indifference to worldly appetites, living an austere life, choosing to refrain from sin in fear of God, and despising the world's carnal

and material aspects. Asceticism is also described as renouncing this world's temporary ease and comfort for the sake of eternal happiness in the Hereafter. [Reference: http://www.thewaytotruth.org/heart/zuhd.html] [Translator's note]

6. The term *dar al-Islam*, which literally means "the house or abode of Islam" [sometimes also referred to as *dar al-salam* (the house of peace)] came to signify Islamic territory in juridical discussions. For the majority, it is thus suggestive of a geopolitical unit, in which Islam is established as the religion of the state, in contrast to *dar al-harb* (the house of war), or territory not governed by Islam. The signs of legitimacy by which one could speak of a geopolitical unit as *dar al-islam* would include a ruler or ruling class whose self-identity is Islamic, some institutional mechanisms by which consultation between the political and religious elite is possible and a commitment to engage in political and military struggle to extend the borders of the *dar al-islam*. For others, the relationship between *dar al-islam* and existing political arrangements was not so easily negotiated. Thus, in one tradition, the proto-Shi'a leader Ja'afar al-Sadiq (d. 765) is presented as suggesting that the territory of Islam exists wherever people are free to practice Islam and to engage in calling others to faith — even if the leadership in such a place does not acknowledge or establish Islam. [Reference: "Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World", Editor in Chief, Richard C. Martin; Volume 1 (A-L); MacMillan Reference, USA; 2003; available at the following link: http://www.archive.org/stream/NewEncyclopediaOfIslam/encyclopedia_of_islam_djvu.txt] [Translator's note]

7. Sufis established three sorts of institutions built around physical edifices: *zawya* (singular); *zawaya* (plural): The *zawya* (*zaouie*) is a shrine, residence, lodge or grave of a Sufi teacher, used also as a school to teach people spiritual studies, and to hold Sufi contemplative music recitals ('*sama*'). *Al-ribat*: The second Sufi institution is known as *al-ribat* or *rebat*, meaning "border forts". In war, these places were used as camps for the Muslim soldiers. In peacetime they were used by the Sufis as schools for teaching their spiritual studies and as libraries where they used to keep their books. In the late middle ages, they were used also as guesthouses or shelters where poor people could stay. *Khaniqah*: means an inn; "*khaniqah*" or "*khanqah*" is the Farsi word for the pilgrimage inns or dormitories where Sufis used to stay to worship, study and sleep. In the late middle ages, under Ottoman rule, a new name "*tkiyya*" or *tekke* was used instead of the "*khaniqah*". It became

a government institution, where the government chose the head of the "*khaniqah*" and paid his salary. These institutions are often confused with *zawaya*, both in literature and perhaps in practical use. [Reference: "Encyclopedia of the Middle East: Sufism" available at the following link: http://www.mideastweb.org/Middle-East-Encyclopedia/sufism.htm]

8. *Fatwa* (s.); *fatwas* (pl.) refers to an Islamic legal opinion/s usually issued on matters related to everyday life; an Islamic religious ruling; a scholarly opinion on a matter of Islamic law. A *fatwa* is issued by a recognized religious authority. [Reference: "Women and Politics: From the Perspective of Islamic Movements in Jordan", By Hassan Abu Haniyeh, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Amman Office; 2008] [Translators note]

9. *Ifta:* The act of issuing a *fatwa* [Translator's note]

10. *Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami* (Islamic Party of Liberation) is a fundamental Islamic movement that seeks the 'implementation of pure Islamic doctrine' and the creation of an Islamic caliphate. The group's aim is to resume the Islamic way of life and to convey the Islamic *da'wa* to the world. The ultimate goal of this group is to unite the entire *umma*, or Islamic world community, into a single caliphate and bring Muslims back to living an Islamic way of life in '*dar al-Islam*' where all of life's affairs in society are administered according to the rules of the *shari'a* (Islamic law). [Reference: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/hizb-ut-tahrir.htm] [Translator's note]

11. *Da'wa* means "invitation" or "call to Islam". It is often translated to mean "Islamic mission" although, both in theory and in practice, *da'wa* is different in its aims and methods from, for example, the contemporary Christian comprehension of a religious mission. Many Islamic thinkers strongly emphasize this difference. (See notation in original text referenced here). Especially for those thinkers that adhere to the broad-based Salafist ideology typical of the Muslim Brotherhood and related revivalist groups, *da'wa* is not simply a method for spreading a spiritual teaching or performing charitable works; it is also an inherently political activity, whose principal aim is Islamic reform and revival leading to the eventual establishment of an Islamic state. *Da'wa* is prescribed in the Qur'an as an obligation for all Muslims. Some Qur'anic verses describe *da'wa* as a form of religious proselytization. For instance, *Surat an-Nahl*, verse 125 enjoins Muslims to, "Invite (all) to the way of thy Lord with

wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them [non-Muslims] in ways that are best...” [Reference: “Da’wa and the Islamist Revival in the West”, by Nina Wiedl, published on Monday, December 14, 2009 in the article: “Current Trendsin Islamist Ideology”; Vol. 9; The Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World; found on the following link:http://www.currenttrends.org/printVersion/print_pub.asp?pubID=116] [Translator’s note]

12. *Jamaa’ah* or *jamaa’at* means ‘groups’ in Arabic, ‘*tabligh*’ and ‘*da’wa*’ are terms that both indicate the meaning behind a ‘religious calling’ ‘missionary’ or ‘invocation’ in Arabic; for more information on the Jamaa’at al-Tabligh refer to “Women and Politics: From the Perspective of Islamic Movements in Jordan, by Hassan Abu Haniyeh; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Amman Office; 2008] [Translators note]

13. Salafism is defined by Salafists as follows: “Salafism and the Salafist *da’wa* is that of the Qur’an and of the Sunna. It is the Religion of Islam - pure and free from any additions, deletions or alterations. It is to adhere to the Path of the Messenger (PBUH) and of the True Believers or Righteous Predecessors (*al-salaf al-saleh*). Al-salaf is a collective term referring to the Pious/Righteous Pioneers in Islam and all those, who follow in the footsteps of the *salaf al-saleh* in their belief, actions and morals. [Reference: The Quran and Sunna Society; www.qss.org] A general introduction to Salafism is provided in “Women and Politics: From the Perspective of Islamic Movements in Jordan” as follows: In general and in common, Islamic (Salafist) movements have all declared through their discourse that their ultimate goal is the “resumption of an Islamic way of life”, despite differences in their various ideologies and visions of ‘change’. The movements […] vary in their ideologies from reformatory to revolutionary and radical. However, they all meet, at some level, in their attempts at creating restorative or reformative movements – similar to that of the Traditional Salafists and *Jamaa’at Tabligh wal Da’wa* or “missionary-type” movements – in that they all seek the re-Islamization of society from its base, using tactics that will lead, in the end, to the establishment of an Islamic state. [Reference: “Women and Politics: From the Perspective of Islamic Movements in Jordan”, by Hassan Abu Haniyeh, published by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Amman Office; 2008] [Translators note]

14. Sheikh in the Oxford-Dictionary of English is defined as: noun 1. an Arab leader, and in particular the chief or head of an Arab tribe, family or village, synonym: leader; or 2. a leader in a Muslim community or organization; origins: 16th century, Arabic root 'sayk ' or old man, sheikh, from 'saka' or to 'be or grow old'. For the purposes of this document and this translation of the original Arabic text, the second meaning is the one intended unless otherwise noted; or "as a religious or spiritual leader in a Muslim community or organization". There are many definitions for and connotations attached to the term 'sheikh' that carry further spiritual or social connotations; however, for the purposes of this document, the translation intends the meaning described in this footnote, or as referenced in the second part of the Oxford-Dictionary of English's definition. [Translator's note]

15. Refer back to footnote 5

16. *Ijtihad* is a term used in Islam that refers to the use of personal reasoning (or rationalization) to determine what is correct from the point of view of the Islamic *shari'a* (law). [*Reference: The Life, Teachings and Influence of Muhammad Bin 'Abd al-Wahhab, http://www.sultan.org/books/wahhabism.pdf]* Also […] In Islamic *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *ijtihad* has evoked the meaning of free and independent efforts of *mujtahidun* (those who practice *ijtihad*), undertaken for the purpose of advancement and expansion of the Islamic sciences. […] By practicing *ijtihad,* a *mujtahid* deduces the *ahkam* (laws) of the *shari'a* for issues and problems where there is no specific text *(nass),* by relying on legal sources and principles and by benefiting from the ideas of other *mujtahidun.* [Reference: http://www.al-islam.org/al-tawhid/ijtihad/1.htm] [Translator's note]

17. Abi Nasr al-Sarraj (sometimes Siraj) al-Tusi; in full Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hassan al-Tusi, born Feb. 18, 1201 in Tus, Khurasan [now Iran]; died June 26, 1274, Baghdad, Iraq. An outstanding Persian philosopher, scientist and mathematician, Al-Tusi was a man of exceptionally wide erudition. He wrote approximately 150 books in Arabic and Persian and edited the definitive Arabic versions of the works of Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, Autolycus and Theodosius. He also made original contributions to mathematics and astronomy. His "*Zîj-i Ilkhânî"* (1271; "Ilkhan Tables"), based on research at the Maragheh observatory, is a splendidly accurate table of planetary movements. Al-Tusi's most influential book in the West may have been "*tadhkirah fi 'ilm al-hay'a"* ("Treasury of Astronomy"), which describes a geometric

construction, now known as the al-Tusi couple, for producing rectilinear motion from a point on one circle rolling inside another. By means of this construction, al-Tusi succeeded in reforming the Ptolemaic planetary models, producing a system in which all orbits are described by uniform circular motion. Most historians of Islamic astronomy believe that the planetary models developed at Maragheh found their way to Europe (perhaps via Byzantium) and provided Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) with inspiration for his astronomical models. Today al-Tusi's "*tajrid"* ("Catharsis") is a highly esteemed treatise on Shi'ite theology. He made important contributions to many branches of Islamic learning, and under his direction Maragheh sparked a revival of Islamic mathematics, astronomy, philosophy and theology. In the East, al-Tusi is an example par excellence of the *hakim*, or wise man. [Reference:http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/610583/Nasir-al-Din-al-Tusi] [Translator's note]

18. *Sahaba (plural)* **are a reference to the "Companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)"; a Companion (***sahib***) (singular) is someone who saw the Prophet Muhammad and believed in him as well as died a Muslim. They are described by the Prophet (PBUH) in the following Hadith from Sahih Muslim [Book 30, Number 6159]: Narrated Aisha: "A person asked God's Apostle (peace be upon him) as to who amongst the people were the best. He said, 'Of the generation to which I belong, then of the second generation (generation adjacent to my generation), then of the third generation (generation adjacent to the second generation)'. Their lives remain a source of inspiration for the later generations of Muslims. [Reference:** http://www.eislamicarabic.com/the-sahaba-stories-biographies/sahaba-stories-biographies.html]. The departure of the Prophet from the early Islamic society was not to end the functionality of the Prophetic hermeneutics. The Prophet would deliver that hermeneutical heritage to His Companions (*sahaba*) **and their total submission to the Prophetic sayings and doings in leading their life was to guarantee the further development of the heritage. The end of verse 44 of Sur'at al-Nahl, that is "la-allahum yatafakkarun" (they may give thought) of "O Apostle! Communicate that which has been sent to thee from thy Lord. If thou didst not, thou wouldst not have communicated His message" (Surat al-Ma'idah 5: 67) ..."And we have sent down unto thee the message so that thou mayest explain clearly to the people what is sent for them and that they give thought" (Surat al-Nahl 16:44) reflects that when the Prophet interpreted some verse of the Qur'an, he, at that moment, made the Companions learn how to reflect on the Qur'an**

in order to have an appropriate understanding of it. It is the deep-rooted impact of this Prophetic culture, flourished and transmitted further by the Companions to successive generations [Reference: "Timing and Temporality in Islamic Philosophy and Phenomenology of Life", By Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka; p. 210] Some Scholars have said that they were 114,000 Companions in number [as stated by Abu Zur'ah, the teacher of Imam Muslim, and recorded by as-Suyootee] and they are praised in many Qur'anic verses: "You are the best of peoples ever raised for mankind, you enjoin good and forbid evil, and you believe in God". [3:110] "And the first to embrace Islam of the *Muhajiroon* **(the Emigrants from Mecca) and the** *Ansar* **(the citizens of Al-Medina who helped the** *Muhajiroon***) and also those who followed them exactly (in Faith). God is well pleased with them, as they are well pleased with Him. He has prepared for them Gardens under which rivers flow, to dwell therein forever. That is the supreme success." [9:100] and "Indeed, God was pleased with the believers when they gave their pledge to you (O Muhammad) under the tree. He knew what was in their hearts and He sent down calmness and tranquility upon them..." [48:18]. [***Reference: http://www.islaam.com/Article.aspx?id=74*] [Translator's note]

19. There are various definitions of the *tabi'in* or *tabi'un* (Arabic: literal definition: the "followers", "successors"); these include: The *tabi'in* are the generation of Muslims who were born after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), but who were contemporaries of the *sahaba* or Companions. The most widespread definition of *sahaba* is someone who saw the Prophet and believed in him as well as died a Muslim. Those that saw him but held off believing in him until after his passing are not considered *sahaba* but *tabi`in*; another definition is simply: "the next generation after the Prophet". [References: http://www.al-islam.org/al-tawhid/hadith-science/3.htm; http://www.enotes.com/topic/Tabi%E2%80%98_al-Tabi%E2%80%98in; and http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/muslim/024.smt.html#024.5275] [Translator's note]

20. You +1›d this publicly. *"al-tusi, abu nasr al-sarraj kitab al-luma' fi 'l-tasawwuf"* (otherwise known as "Al-Luma'" or "The Book of the Essentials of Sufism") (in Arabic); eds., 'Abd al-Halim Mahmud and Taha 'Abd al-Baqi Surur; Dar al-Kutub al-Haditha, Cairo; 1960; p.21

21. Ibn Khaldun or Ibn Khaldoun or Abu Zayd 'Abd al-Rahman Bin

Muhammad Bin Khaldun Al-Hadrami, May 27, 1332 AD/732 AH-March 19, 1406 AD/808 AH) was an Arab historiographer and historian born in North Africa in present-day Tunisia and is sometimes viewed as one of the forerunners of modern historiography, sociology and economics. He is best known for his "Muqaddimah" (also known as "Prolegomenon" in English), which was discovered, evaluated and fully appreciated first by 19th century European scholarship, although it has also had considerable influence on 17th century Ottoman historians like Hajii Khalifa and Mustafa Naima who relied on his theories to analyze the growth and decline of the Ottoman empire. He is recognized as one of the greatest philosophers to come out of the Arab world. For more on Ibn Khaldun's life and biography refer to "The Muqaddimah: Abd Al-Rahman Bin Muhammad Ibn Khaldun", Translated by Franz Rosenthal on the following link: http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ik/Muqaddimah/TransIntro/IbnKhalLife.htm [Translator's note]

22. *Al-salaf al-saleh:* The Righteous (or Pious) Predecessors (or briefly: the *salaf*) refers to the first and best three generations of Muslims. These three generations begin with the Companions (*sahaba*) of the Prophet (May Peace Be upon Him), their immediate followers (*tabi'in*) and then the followers of the *tabi'in*. These were praised by the Prophet (May Peace Be upon Him) as follows, *"The best of people is my generation, then those who come after them, then those who come after them"* [Bukhari and al-Muslim]. [*Reference: http://www.qss.org/articles/salafi/text.html]* [Translator's note]

23. In the glossary of "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism" [al-]*dunya* is defined as "this world and its deceptive trappings" [Reference: "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization; Garnet Publishing Ltd; 2007 p. 417]

24. Ibn Khaldun, "*al-muqaddimah*" ("The Muqaddimah: Abd Al-Rahman Bin Muhammad Ibn Khaldun") (in Arabic); Al Maktaba Al Assriya, Beirut, Lebanon; 1995, p. 514 [English translation taken directly from http://www.spiritualfoundation.net/sufisshaykhs4.htm#111018702; which references this quote as follows, "Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldun" (in English); p. 328]

25. Abu 'Al-Fayd Dhu al-Nun Ibn Ibrahim al-Misri (born in 796 AH;

died 859 AH) was an Egyptian Sufi, considered the Patron Saint of the Physicians in the early Islamic era in Egypt. He is also credited with having specialized in the concept of gnosis in Islam. His full name is Dhul-Nun Abu Fayd Thawban Ibn Ibrahim; Dhul-Nun, literately "Of the Nun", which is a name that is alleged to also have been given to the Prophet Jonah in Islamic folklore, as "nun" in ancient Arabic meant "big fish"/"whale", as it did in Aramaic where it also means "fish" (See also Nun (Bible) and Nun [the letter "nun"] in Arabic). His nickname *al-Misri* means 'the Egyptian', a name apparently given to him by his fellows who were not themselves of Coptic (or Nubian) descent as he was, or during his travels outside of Egypt. [also see: *Dho'l-Nun al-Mesri*, from "Muslim Saints and Mystics", trans. A.J. Arberry, London; Routledge & Kegan Paul 1983] [Translator's note]

26. Al-Qushayri, Abu ‹l Qasim Abd al-Karim Ibn Hawazin, "*al risaalatul al-qushayri fi 'ilim al-tassawuf*" ("The Qushayri Epistle on Sufism", sometimes known as "The Qushayri Treatise" or Qushayri *Risala*), written by Abu'l Qasim Qushayri; d. 425 AH) (in Arabic); examined and prepared by Maarouf Zureik and Ali Abdel Hamid Balata Jey, Second Edition; Dar al-Jil, Beirut, Lebanon; 1990, p. 433 [English translation taken from "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization; Garnet Publishing Ltd; 2007 p. 20]

27. Abu al-Qasim Ibn Muhammad al-Junayd (ca. 830-910), also called al-Junayd al-Baghdadi was one of the great early Sufi elders of Islam. He became the master and inspired teacher of the Baghdad School of Sufism in the latter half of the 3rd century AD; and, he laid the groundwork for "sober" Sufism in contrast to that of "God-intoxicated" Sufis like al-Hallaj. The fact that al-Junayd helped establish the "sober" school of Sufi thought meant that he was very logical and scholarly about his definitions of various virtues, *tawhid*, etc. He was one of the most famous of the early Persian Muslim Sufis and is a central figure in the golden chain of many Sufi orders. Junayd was born in Baghdad where he taught throughout his spiritual lifetime. He was an important figure in the development of central Sufi doctrine. Junayd, like Hassan of Basra before him, was widely revered by his students and disciples as well as quoted by other Sufis. [Reference: Various sources and "The Life Personality and Writings of al-Junayd"; by Dr. Ali Hassan Abdel Kader; Al Azhar University; Luzac and Company Ltd; London, 1962; pp. x and

xi] [Translator's note]
28. Al-Qushayri, "*al risaalatul al-qushayri fi 'ilim al-tassawuf*" ("The Qushayri Epistle on Sufism", sometimes known as "The Qushayri Treatise" or Qushayri *Risala*) (in Arabic); p. 430 [English translation taken directly from "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; 2007 p. 44]

29. Abu al-Wafa› Ghunaymi al-Taftazani, "*madkhal illa al-tasawwuf al-islami*" (lit., "An Introduction to Islamic Sufism") (in Arabic); Dar Al-Thaqafa for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, Egypt; 1979; pp. 29-30

30. In religious terms, one of the most esoteric of all doctrines is that which expresses the mystery of union concerning the Logos. This doctrine has its origin in the distinction, within God Himself, between God and the Godhead, or between "Being" and "Essence". This distinction is to be found in the esoterisms of several religions, and is made explicit in the treatises of such great "gnostics" as □arikara, Eckhart and Ibn 'Arabi. Ordinary theology distinguishes simply between God and man, between the Uncreated and the created. But in each of these categories, esoterism makes a distinction. For example, within God Himself, there is already a prefiguration of creation, and this is God as "Being". God as "Being" is the immediate Creator of the world. This is the source of the metaphysical distinction between "Beyond-Being" ("Essence") and "Being". Likewise, within the created, there is a distinction to be made. There is something within the created itself that reflects the Uncreated (something, within the relative, that reflects the Absolute). For Christianity, this is the Savior, for Islam, the Prophet. In more general terms, it is truth and virtue, or symbol and sacrament. These different strands are brought together by the concept of the Logos: the prefiguration of the created in the Uncreated (God) is the *uncreated* Logos. The reflection of the Uncreated in the created or the Absolute in the relative—(Savior; Prophet; truth and virtue; symbol and sacrament) is the *created* Logos. Hence, the indispensability of the Logos (with its *two* faces) as a "bridge" between created and Uncreated, or between man and God. Without the Logos, no contact between man and God would be possible. This seems to be the position of the Deists. Without the Logos, there would be a fundamental dualism, not "Non-Dualism". [Reference: "Aspects of Islamic Esoterism", by William Stoddart; source: "Studies in Comparative Religion"; Vol. 13; No. 3 & 4; 1979; found on the following link: http://www.studiesincomparativereligion.com/Public/articles/Aspects_of_Islamic_

Esoterism-by_William_Stoddart.aspx#_ftnref3] [Translator's note]
31. For more detail on the opinions of orientalists and the criticisms presented on these opinions refer to Irfan 'Abd al-Hamid Fatah, "*nasha'at al-falsafa al-sufiyya wa tatawiraha*" (lit., "The Emergence and Development of Sufi Philosophy") (in Arabic) Dar al-Jil, Beirut, Lebanon; First Edition; 1993, pp. 40-50

32. Muhammad Mustafa Hilmi, "*al-hayatu al-ruhiyah fi al-Islam*" (lit., "Spiritual Life in Islam") (in Arabic), The General Egyptian Book Organization (*al-hay'a al-misriyah lil kitab*); Cairo, Egypt; Second Edition 1984

33. Abu 'Ala Afifi entitled his book, "*al-tassawuf: al-thawra al-ruhiyah fi al-Islam*" (lit.,"Sufism: The Spiritual Revolution in Islam") (in Arabic); Cairo; 1963

34. Annemarie Schimmel, "Mystical Dimensions of Islam"; German Edition; English translation: North Carolina University Press; 1975; (1986); Arabic translation: Muhammad Ismail and Rida Hamed Qutub; Manshourat al-Jamal (Al-Jamal Publications); Cologne, Germany (2006)

35. **Al-Hassan al-Basri, in full Abu Sa'id Ibn Abi al-Hassan Yasar al-Basri (born 642 in Medina and died 728, in Basra) was a deeply pious and ascetic Muslim who became one of the most important religious figures in early Islam. Hassan was born nine years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad; and, in Basra, he became a central figure in the religious, social and political upheavals brought about by internal conflicts with the Muslim community. From the few remaining fragments of his sermons, which are among the best examples of early Arabic prose, Hassan determined that the true Muslim must not only refrain from committing sin but he must live in a state of lasting anxiety, brought about by the certainty of death and the uncertainty of his destiny in the hereafter [...] The enemy of Islam, for Hassan, was not the infidel but the hypocrite (***munafiq***), who took his religion lightly [...] In the important freedom-determinism debate, he took the position that man is totally responsible for his actions, and he attacked the widely held view that God is the sole creator of man's actions. Al-Hassan al-Basri was known to his own generation as an eloquent preacher, a paragon of the truly pious Muslim, and an outspoken critic of the political rulers of the Umayyad dynasty (AD 661–750). Among later generations of Muslims, he has been**

remembered for his piety and religious asceticism. [Edited from the reference: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/256468/al-Hassan-al-Basri] [Additional reading: Refer to the "Encyclopedia of Islam", Juan Eduardo Campo; From the series: "Encyclopedia of World Religions"; Facts on File Inc.; Infobase Publishing; New York; 2009 by Juan Eduardo Campo; p. 294] [Translator's note]

36. Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya al-Qaysiyya or simply Rabi'a al-Basriyya (AD 717–801) was a female Muslim elder (saint) and Sufi mystic born between 95 and 99 AH in Basra, Iraq. Much of her early life is narrated by Farid al-Din Attar, a later Sufi elder (saint) and poet, while Rabi'a herself did not leave any written works. She is considered one of the first to set forth the doctrine of Divine Love and is widely considered to be the most important of the early Sufi poets. After a life of hardship, she spontaneously achieved a state of self-realization. When asked by Sheikh Hassan al-Basri how she discovered the secret, she responded by stating: «You know of the how, but I know of the how-less". She was the first in a long line of female Sufi mystics. It is also possible that she helped further integrate Islamic slaves into Muslim society, as Rabi›a was passionately against all forms of slavery. [Edited from: "Rabi`a al `Adawiyya al-Basriyya" in the "Encyclopedia of Islam", Juan Eduardo Campo; from the series: "Encyclopedia of World Religions"; Facts on File Inc.; Infobase Publishing; New York; 2009 By Juan Eduardo Campo; p. 578-579] [Additional reading: "Muslim Women Mystics: The Life and Work of Rabi›a and Other Women Mystics in Islam: by Margaret Smith; from the "Great Islamic Thinkers" series, One World Publications, Oxford; Second Edition; 2001] [Translator's note] **Margaret Smith** (Author)

37. Al-Junayd divides up the state of *fana'* into three parts: "1) the passing away from one's attributes through the effort of constantly opposing one's ego-self (*nafs*); 2) passing away from one's sense of accomplishment, that is, passing away from 'one's share of the sweet deserts and pleasures of obedience'; and 3) passing away from the vision of the reality 'of your ecstasies as the sign of the Real overpowers you'". All of these stages help one to achieve *fana'*. Once that has been attained, a person is in the state of remaining, or *baqa'*. It is through the stage of *baqa'* that one is able to find God – or rather, have God find him/her. Reaching *baqa'* is not an easy task; getting through the three stages requires strict discipline and patience. There is even debate amongst scholars as to whether or not the third stage is even possible to reach. [References: Sells, Michael A., "Early Islamic Mysticism: Sufi,

Koran, Mi'raj, Poetic and Theological Writings" Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1996; and Karamustafa, Ahmet T., "Sufism: The Formative Period", Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2007; and Carney, 'Abd al-Hakeem, "Imamate and Love: The Discourse of the Divine in Islamic Mysticism", Journal of the American Academy of Religion 3(2005): 705-730] [Translator's note]

38. Al-Hallaj, in full Abu al-Mughith al-Husayn Ibn Mansur al-Hallaj, (born c. 858, Tur, Iran - died March 26, 922, Baghdad) was a controversial author and teacher of Islamic Sufism. His person and his works aroused admiration in some and repression on the part of others, and the drama of his life and death has been considered a reference point in Islamic history. He concluded his instruction in the Sufi way under al-Junayd of Baghdad but the milieu in which al-Hallaj preached and wrote was filled with social, economic, political and religious tensions – all factors that contributed to his later arrest. Al-Hallaj has been identified as an "intoxicated" Sufi in contradistinction to a "sober" one. The former are those who, in the moment of ecstasy, are so overcome by the presence of the divine that awareness of personal identity is lost and who experience a merging with ultimate reality. In that exalted state, the Sufi is sometimes given to using extravagant language. Not long before his arrest al-Hallaj is said to have uttered the statement "*ana al-haqq*" ("I am the Truth"), which provided cause for the accusation that he had claimed to be divine. Such a statement was highly inappropriate in the view of most Muslims; however, there was no consensus about al-Hallaj. His long, drawn-out trial proceedings were marked by indecision although al-Hallaj was eventually crucified and brutally tortured to death. He is remembered to have endured gruesome torture calmly and courageously and to have uttered words of forgiveness for his accusers. In a sense, the Islamic community (*umma*) had put itself on trial, for al-Hallaj left behind revered writings and supporters who courageously affirmed his teachings and his experience. In subsequent Islamic history, therefore, the life and thought of al-Hallaj has been a subject seldom ignored. [Reference: J.W. Fiegenbaum on the following link: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/252727/al-Hallaj] [Additional reading, refer to: Louis Massignon, *The Passion of al-Hallaj,* 4 vol. (1982)] [Translator's note]

39. Al-Ghazali, sometimes also spelled al-Ghazzali, (in full Abu Hamid Muhammad Ibn Muhammad At-Tusi Al-Ghazali) (born 1058, Tus, Iran –

died Dec. 18, 1111, Tus) was a Muslim theologian and Sufi whose great work, "*ihya 'ulum ad-din"* ("The Revival of the Religious Sciences") made Sufism, or Islamic mysticism, an acceptable part of orthodox Islam. Al-Ghazali also mastered and criticized the Neo-platonist philosophies of al-Farabi and Avicenna (Ibn Sina). More than 400 works are ascribed to al-Ghazali, but he probably did not write nearly so many. Frequently the same work is found with different titles in different manuscripts, but many of the numerous manuscripts have not yet been carefully examined. At least 50 genuine works are extant. Most of his activity was in the field of jurisprudence and theology. Toward the end of his life he completed a work on general legal principles, though he came to hold the belief that theology – the rational, systematic presentation of religious truths – was inferior to mystical experience. Al-Ghazali's abandonment of a brilliant career as a professor in order to lead a kind of monastic life won him many followers and critics amongst his contemporaries. Western scholars have been so attracted by his account of his spiritual development that they have paid him far more attention than they have other equally important Muslim thinkers. [Reference: William Montgomery Watt; W.M. Watt, "Muslim Intellectual*:* A Study of al-Ghazali*"* (1963), found on the following link: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/232533/al-Ghazali; also refer to D.B. MacDonald, "The Life of al-Ghazali with Special Reference to His Religious Experience and Opinions" in the Journal of the American Oriental Society*,* 20:71-132 (1899).] [Translator's note]

40. *Imam* is an Arabic word that refers to the spiritual leader, or the one who stands above all else as the spiritual and sometimes the political leader of the Muslim community, or *umma*. An imam is also the one who leads congregations in Friday prayer at the mosque. [Reference: http://middleeast.about.com/od/glossary/g/me081206a.htm] [Translator's note]

41. Abi al-Qassem Abd al-Karim Ibn Hawazin al-Qushayri or Abi N, (Persian also: Kushayri) was born in AD 986 in Nishapur which is in the Khurasan province of Iran. After the death of his master and father-in-law, Abu Ali al-Dakkak, Al-Qushayri became his successor and evolved into a leader of mystic assemblies. The *madrassa* (religious school) that Abu Ali al-Dakkak built in 1001 CE became known as "*al-madrassa al-qushayriayya"* or "The Madrassa of the Qushayri family". He taught the Hadith, which is something he is famous for and "*lata'if al-isharat bi tafsir al-qur'an"* is one of the most famous works attributed to al-Qushayri, which is a complete commentary of the Qur'an, where he determines

four levels of meaning (first, the *ibara*; second, the *ishara*; third, *lata'if;* and finally, the *haqa'iq*). This text places him amongst the elite of the Sufi mystics; and, it is widely used as a standard of Sufi thought. However, his fame is gained mostly from his "*risala"*, or "*al-risala al-qushayriya"*, or "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism", which discusses the creed of the Sufis, and expounds upon important and influential Sufis from the past, Sufi practice and important terminology to Sufism, and al-Qushayri's interpretation of these Sufi terms. This text has been used by many Sufi elders (saints) as a standard and reference. [Reference: Encyclopedia Islam; Imam al Abu 'l Qasim al-Qushayri: http://islam786books.com/main/page_sufi_books_alqushayri.html] [Translator's note]

42. Ibn al-'Arabi, in full Muhyi al-Din Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-'Arabi al-Hatimi al-Ta'i Ibn al-'Arabi, also called Al-Sheikh al-Akbar (born July 28, 1165, Murcia, Valencia - died November 16, 1240, Damascus) was a celebrated Muslim Sufi-philosopher who gave the esoteric, mystical dimension of Islamic thought its first full-fledged philosophic expression. His major works are monumental and include "*al-futuhat al-makkiyyah"* ("The Meccan Revelations") and "*fusus al-hikam"* (1229; "The Bezels of Wisdom"). [Reference: Toshihiko Izutsu, "Ibn al-'Arabi", Encyclopædia Britannica; Encyclopædia Britannica Online, 2011; Web; 09 Sep. 2011. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/280684/Ibn-al-Arabi>] [For additional reading on Ibn 'Arabi, refer to R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (1921); also A.E. Affifi, "The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid-Din Ibnul 'Arabi" (1939); also S.H. Nasr, "Three Muslim Sages" (1963); M.M. Sharif (ed.), and "A History of Muslim Philosophy", vol. 2 (1963); Henry Corbin, "Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi" (Eng. trans. 1969); and T. Izutsu, "A Comparative Study of the Key Philosophical Concepts in Sufism and Taoism: Ibn 'Arabî and Lao Tzû, Chuang Tzû", 2 vol. (1966–67). See especially the works of Palacios, Nasr and Corbin for biographical information] [Translator's note]

43. Refer to Giuseppe Scatolin and Ahmad Hassan Anwar, *"al-tajaliyat al-ruhiya fi al-islam: nusous sufiyya 'abr al-tarikh"* (lit., "Spiritual Manifestations in Islam: Sufi Texts through History");The General Egyptian Book Organization (*Al-hay'a al-nisriya lil kitab*); Cairo, Egypt; First Edition; 2008; p. 7

44. For more details on the origins and etymology of the name, its derivatives and its relational adjectives, refer to Dr. Amin Yousef Odeh's

“*dirasa fi asel mustalah al-tasawwuf wa dallalatuhu*” (lit., “A Study into the Origins of the Term Sufism and its Significations”) (in Arabic); Markaz al-Lughat (The Language Center), Aal al-Bayt University; also refer to Lutufallah Khojeh’s “*moudou’ al-tasawwuf*” (lit., “On the Subject of Sufism”) (in Arabic); pp-9-21

45. Al-Taftazani, “*madkhal illa al-tasawwuf al-islami*” (lit., “An Introduction to Islamic Sufism”); 1979; p. 8

46. *Muraqaba* is the Sufi word for meditation. Literally it means “to watch over”, “to take care of”, or “to keep an eye on”. Metaphorically, it implies that, with meditation, a person watches over or takes care of his spiritual heart (or soul), and acquires knowledge about it, its surroundings, and its creator. [Reference: http://encycl.opentopia.com/term/Muraqaba] [Translator’s note]

47. Al-Taftazani, “*madkhal illa al-tasawwuf al-islami*” (lit., “An Introduction to Islamic Sufism”); 1979; pp. 38-39

48. ‘Abd al-Malek al-Kharkoushi, “*tahdhib al-asrar*” (lit., “Refining/ Discipling Secrets”), Ed. Bassam Baroud, Al-Mujama’ al-Thaqafi (The Cultural Center), Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates (UAE); 1999, pp. 36-37

49. *Sheikh al-Islam:* an honorary title for Muslim jurists: (literally, Elder of Islam) is an honorific title that has been historically applied to prominent Muslim jurists, theologians, and spiritual masters in recognition of outstanding knowledge and/or piety. In the early medieval period (c. 800 - 1200), the title was quasi-official and conferred on an elite of few through acclamation by disciples or peers. Over time, however, the title was adopted by certain highly trained jurists (that is, muftis, or “jurisconsults”), who could legitimately claim the authority to issue a formal legal religious opinion *(fatwa).* In fact, although the more elitist, quasi-official usage of this title has continued into the modern period (particularly in the form of posthumous conferral), the later medieval and early modern periods witnessed an increasingly widespread attachment of the title to official positions in state-controlled judicial administrations. [Reference: “Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa“, the Gale Group, Inc: Shaykh al-Islam] [Translator’s note]
50. (Sheikh al-Islam) Zakariyya Ansari, in full Zakariyya Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Zakariyya, Abu Yahya Sheikh al-Islam al-Ansari, was born

in Sanika, Egypt, in 823 AH/1420 AD, known as the Sheikh of Sheikhs, he was the Shafi'i scholar of his time, a Hadith master (otherwise known as a "*hafez*"), an Islamic jurist and judge and Qur'anic exegete. He authored works on religious law and on the sciences of the Qur'an and the Hadith, as well as logic, Arabic, fundamentals of jurisprudence and Sufism. He died in 926/1520 at the age of one hundred years. [Reference: taken from http://www.sunniforum.com/forum/showthread.php?14871-Sheikh-al-Islam-Zakariyya-al-Ansari] [Translator's note]

51. Muhammad Ali Hammad, "*haqiqat al-tasawwuf wa karamat al-awliya*'" (lit., "The Truth of Sufism and the Gifts of the Elders") (in Arabic), Matba'at Jama'at al-Khartoum (Khartoum University Press), Khartoum, Sudan; 1979; p. 2

52. Al-Sha'rani was a great scholar and saint (Sufist elder), who lived in Cairo in the 10th century AH. He is considered a scholar of comparative *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and author of numerous works on Islamic law and Sufism, including "*al-tabaqat al-kubra*" (lit., "The Greatest of Levels/Classes") [For more on al-Sha'rani refer to the following link: http://www.ottomanhistorians.com/database/html/sharani_en.html] [Translator's note]

53. 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani, "*al-tabaqat al-kubra*" (lit., "The Greatest of Levels/Classes", in Arabic); Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, Cairo, Egypt, not dated; V. 1, p.4

54. *Kufr* is unbelief (in Islam); literally, it means ingratitude; in its different forms *kufr* is the root for *kaffir* (singular) and *kuffar or kaffirin* (plural), which means infidel/s, unbeliever/s; it is also the root for *takfir*, which means excommunication – or declaring a person or group of people infidels or unbelievers (or non-Muslim). [Reference: Perspectives on World History and Current Events (PWHCE): The Middle East Project; http://www.pwhce.org/takfiri.html] [Translator's note]

55. Refer to Giuseppe Scatolin and Ahmad Hassan Anwar, *"al-tajaliyat al-ruhiya fi al-Islam: nusous sufiyya 'abr al-tarikh"* (lit., "Spiritual Manifestations in Islam: Sufi Texts through History"); The General Egyptian Book Organization (*al-hay'a al-nisriya lil kitab*); Cairo, Egypt; First Edition; 2008; p. 13.

56. In the past and of late, numerous books and studies critical of Sufism have accumulated; for example, refer to:

- “*tahqiq ma lil hind min maqoula ma’aqoula fil ‘aqel am marthoula*’ (“A Critical Study of what India says, whether accepted by reason or refused”, otherwise also known as the “Indica”, which is a compendium of India’s religion and philosophy) (in Arabic) by Abu Rayhan Muhammad Al-Biruni; ‘Alam al-Kitab; Second edition; 1403/1983
- “*dhuhur al-islam*” (lit., “The Emergence of Islam”) (in Arabic), by Ahmad Amin, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi; Beirut, Lebanon; Fifth edition; 1996
- “*buniyat al-‘aqel al-arabi*” (“The Structure [Formation] of the Arab Mind”) (in Arabic, French and English), an analytical, critical study of knowledge systems in the Arab culture; by Dr. Muhammad al-Jabri; Markaz Dirasat al-Wahda al-‘Arabia; Beirut, Lebanon; Fifth edition; 1996
- “*talbis iblis*” (“The Devil’s Deception”) (in Arabic), by Jamal al-Din Abu’l Faraj Ibn Jawzi; published by Idarat al-Tiba’ah al-Muneiriya; Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiya; Beirut, Lebanon
- “*al-tasawwuf bayn al-haqq wal khalq*” (lit., “Sufism: Between Truth and Creation”) (in Arabic), by Muhammad Fahr Shaqfa; Dar al-Salafiyya; Third Edition; 1403/1983
- “*al-tasawwuf fil islam*” (lit., “Sufism in Islam”) (in Arabic), Dr. Omar Farroukh; Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, Beirut, Lebanon; 1401/1981
- “*al-tasawwuf al-mansha’ wal masadir*” (lit., “Sufism: Origins and References”) (in Arabic) by Ihsan Ilhi Dhaheer; Idarat Turjman al-Sunna, Lahore, Pakistan; First Edition; 1406
- “*al-rad ala al-qa’ilin biwihdat al-wujud*” (lit., “A Response to Those Who Call for Unity of Existence”) (in Arabic), by Ali Bin Sultan al-Qari; researched by Ali Rida Bin Ali Rida; Dar al-Ma’moun lil Turath; First edition; 1415/1995
- “*shadhat al-sufiyya*” (lit., “The Vagaries of Sufism”) (in Arabic), by ‘Abd al-Rahman Badawi; Wikalat al-Matbou’at; Kuwait; Second edition; 1976
- “*al-sufiyya al-wajh al-akhar*” (lit., “The Other Face of Sufism”) (in Arabic); a press interview with Dr. Muhammad Ghazi, by ‘Abd al-Munem al-Jadawi
- “*al-sufiyya fi al-islam*” (“Mystics of Islam”) (in Arabic) by Reynold A. Nicholson; translated and comments by Nourridin Sharibeh; published by Maktabat al-Khanji; Cairo, Egypt; Second edition; 1422 AH
- Nicholson, Reynold A., “*fi al-tasawwuf al-islami wa tarikhahu*” (lit., “On Islamic Sufism and its History”) (in Arabic); a series of studies by Reynold A. Nicholson; translated into Arabic and commented on by Abu ‘Ala Afifi; Matba’at Lajnat al-Ta’lif wal Tarjama wal Nashr; Cairo, Egypt; 1388/1969

- “*al-‘aqel al-‘akhlaki al-‘arabi”* (lit., “The Morality of the Arab Mind”) (in Arabic), an analytical study of value systems in the Arab culture; by Dr. Muhammad al-Jabri; al-Markaz al-Thaqafi al-Arabi; First Edition; 2001
- “*madarij al-salikin bi manazil iyak na’budou wa iyak nasta’in*” (lit., “The Stages of the Wayseekers of the Houses of Worship and Belief”) (in Arabic), Abi ‘Abd Allah Muhammad Bin Abi Bakr Bin Ayoub Bin Qayyim al-Jawziyya; review: The Committee of Scholars, overseen by the publisher, Dar Al-Hadith; Cairo, Egypt
- “*nasha’at al-fikr al-falsafi*” (lit., “The Emergence of Philosophical Thought”) (in Arabic), by Dr. Ali Sami al-Nashar; Dar al-Ma’arif; Seventh edition; 1977

57. Ibn Taymiyya, from “*majmou’ fatawi*” (“Collection of Fatwas”) (11:19); for more information on the stance of Ibn Taymiyya, refer to Dr. Muhammad ’Abd al-Rahman Al-‘Arifi, “*mawqif ibn taymiyya min al-sufiyya*” (lit., “The Position of Ibn Taymiyya on Sufism”); Dar al-Minhaj; Riyadh, Saudi Arabia; First edition; 1430 AH. Also refer to Dr. Mustafa Hilmi “*ibn taymiyya wal tasawwuf*” (lit., “Ibn Taymiyya and Sufism”); Dar al-Da’wa; Alexandria, Egypt; Second edition; 1982. [English translation edited from three different sources researched: references: Ibn Taymiyya, *majmu`a al-fatawa al-kubra*, reference 17, from [Article 23] “On Tasawwuf Ibn Taymiyya”; reference: Ibn Taymiyya, *majmu`a al-fatawa al-kubra*; 2:396 397; found on the following link:
http://sunnah.org/tasawwuf/scholr23.htm#17;
http://paulsarmstrong.com/2011/07/13/imam-ibn-taymiyyah-al-qadiriyyah-as-sufi/;
and http://haqqani-dergah.tripod.com/id16.html]

58. Nicholson, Reynold A., “*fi al-tasawwuf al-islami wa tarikhahu*” (lit., “On Islamic Sufism and its History”); a series of studies by Reynold A. Nicholson; translated into Arabic and commented on by Abu ‘Ala Afifi; Matba’at Lajnat al-Ta’lif wal Tarjama wal Nashr; Cairo, Egypt; 1388/1969; p. 46

59. This class of religious elders were also popularly known as the *“zuhad”*, “the ascetics”, the “devout adherents”, “the eremites” or “the weepers”; refer to Irfan Abdel Hamid Fatah, “*nasha’at al-falsafa al-sufiyya wa tatawiraha*” (lit., “The Emergence and Development of Sufi Philosophy”) (in Arabic), Dar al-Jil, Beirut, Lebanon; First edition; 1993, p. 87
60. Abu Taleb al-Makki, “*quwat al-qulub fi mu’amalat al-mahboub*” (lit., “Hearts Empowered in the Ways of the Beloved [God]”) (in Arabic);

Beirut, Lebanon; 2003; 1/499

61. Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi, "*kitab al-ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-tasawwuf*" ("The Doctrine of the Sufis", in Arabic); Beirut, Lebanon; 1993; p. 11

62. In the glossary of "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism" *ma'rifa* is presented as "*ma'rifa [bi-llah]* or *ma'rifa* [in God]*"* and is defined as: [divine] gnosis; the supersensory, revelatory knowledge of God and the world granted to the accomplished Sufi master or *'arif;* [Reference: "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization; Garnet Publishing Ltd; 2007; p. 419]

63. Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami, "*tabaqat al-sufiyya*" (lit., "Classes/ Levels of Sufism", in Arabic); p. 66

64. Ibid; p. 143 [English translation of this quote was taken and edited by the translator from another English translation of this text found on the following link: http://sunnah.org/history/Scholars/imam_junayd.htm] [Translator's note]

65. **Nicholson, "The Mystics of Islam" (in Arabic); p. 12 [English translation taken directly from "The Mystics of Islam" (in English) by Reynold A. Nicholson; Routledge, Kegan Paul, London; 1914; published online on the following link:** http://www.sacred-texts.com/ isl/moi/moi.htm] [Translator's note]

66. 'Abd al-Halim Bin Mahmud, "*muqadimat al-munqidh min al-dalal*" (translated by other sources in English as, "His Deliverance from Error" or "The Deliverer from Error" or "Rescuer from Misguidance", in Arabic); p. 40

67. Souad al-Hakim, "*'awdat al-wassil*" (lit., "The Return of the Attained", in Arabic); p. 89

68. Ibn Jawzi, "*talbis iblis*" ("The Devil's Deception") (in Arabic); p. 161

69. English translation of *akhlaq* taken from the glossary of "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism"; p. 417; *akhlaq* also means or connotes morality; high

moral standards; nobility of comportment or character (or (*kholq*); noble behavior) [Translator's note]

70. The Holy Qur'an; Surat al-Qalam (the Pen) 68: Verse 4 [The English translation of this verse used in this text is referenced in Sahih International; "And indeed, you are of a great moral character"; other English translations of this verse include: "And, surely you are exalted to a high and noble character", taken from the following link: http://www.quranenglish.com/Tafheem-ul-Quran%20in%20English%20By%20Syed%20Maududi/068%20Al-Qalm.pdf
Also see: Muhsin Khan, "And verily, you (O Muhammad) are on an exalted standard of character"; Pickthall: "And lo! thou art of a tremendous nature"; Yusuf Ali: "And thou (standest) on an exalted standard of character"; Shakir: "And most surely you conform (yourself) to sublime morality"; Dr. Ghali: "And surely you are indeed of a magnificent character" [English translations found on: http://quran.com/68] [Translator's note]

71. As narrated by Malik in the "*al-muatta*"; p. 463 [or "Malik's Muwatta" or "The Beaten Path" by Malik bin Anas bin Malik bin Abu Amir al-Asbahi"], which is a collection of two items: 1) the sayings and deeds of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (also known as the Sunna) and the *reports* of the Prophet's sayings and deeds are called *ahadith*; 2) The legal opinions and decisions of the Prophet's Companions, their successors, and some later authorities. The Muwatta is considered a code of law based on the legal practices that were operating in al-Medina. It covers various areas ranging from prescribed rituals of prayer and fasting to the correct conduct of business relations. The legal code is supported by some 2,000 traditions attributed to the Prophet. Malik (full name Malik bin Anas bin Malik bin Abu Amir Al-Asbahi) was born in 93 AH and died in 179 AH. He lived most of his life in Medina, the city in which the Prophet (PBUH) settled in. He was a preeminent scholar of Islam, and is the originator of the Maliki judicial school of thought. He is reputed to have had over one thousand students. During Malik's lifetime, he steadily revised his "Muwatta", so it reflects over forty years of his learning and knowledge. It contains a few thousand Hadith. It is important to realize, however, that Malik's collection is not complete; there are other scholars who worked as Malik did and collected other reports.(Reference found on the following link: http://www.muwatta.com/ebooks/english/al-muwatta_english.pdf] [Translator's note]
72. English translation taken directly from Sahih Muslim; found on the following link: http://www.rasoulallah.net/V2/document.

aspx?lang=en&doc=10188 [Translator's note]

73. Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami, "*tabaqat al-sufiyya*" (lit., "Classes/ Levels of Sufism")(in Arabic); p. 19

74. Al-Tusi, "*al-luma'*" **(otherwise known as "Al-Luma'" or "The Book of the Essentials of Sufism") (in Arabic); p. 45; and Al-Qushayri, "***al risaalatul al-qushayri fi 'ilim al-tassawuf*" **("The Qushayri Epistle on Sufism", sometimes known as "The Qushayri Treatise" or Qushayri** *Risala***) (in Arabic); p. 280: [English translation of this quote taken directly from, "Voices of Islam: Voices of life: Family, Home, and Society" in Section 14. Sufi Foundations of the Ethics of Social Life in Islam, Kenneth Lee Honerkamp; edited by Vincent J. Cornell; Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007; p. 182 found on the following link:** http://books.google.com/books?id=ixO4b6jlbLYC&pg=PA182&lpg=PA182&dq=Abu+al-Husayn+al-Nuri+defines+sufism+as&source=bl&ots=xZhYbc4It7&sig=IYZro3xfK9ZeT5fO4TzjC5Dt6OQ&hl=en&ei=xpCATvmYFYKf-waampWSDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CDwQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false] [Translator's note]

75. Al-Tusi, *"al-luma'"* (otherwise known as "Al-Luma'" or "The Book of the Essentials of Sufism") (in Arabic); p. 45 [English translation of this quote taken directly from, "Voices of Islam: Voices of life: Family, Home, and Society" in Section 14. Sufi Foundations of the Ethics of Social Life in Islam, Kenneth Lee Honerkamp; edited by Vincent J. Cornell; Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007; p. 182; found on the following link: see previous reference] [Translator's note]

76. Al-Hujwiri, in full Sheikh Abu al-Hassan 'Ali Ibn 'Uthman al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri al-Ghaznawi, was born in a small town in Afghanistan near Ghazni and came to Lahore in 1039 AD, during the reign of Sultan Mas'ud. He would stay there until his death in 1073, and such was the gratitude of the people of Lahore for his spiritual gifts that they called him by the simple Hindi name "Data" (meaning "the giver") or else "Data Ganj Bakhsh" ("the giver who bestows treasures"). Few details are known of the life of al-Hujwiri, though he came to exert a significant influence on Muslim spiritual life through his writings, above all the famous *"kashf al-mahjub*" ("Revelation of the Mystery" otherwise known in English as "The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism"). His tomb, which was built by the grandson of Sultan Mahmud, remains an important center for followers

of Sufism from all classes. A sign of his importance for Sufism is the small shrine adjacent to his tomb, which is known today as the station of Sheikh Mu'in al-Din Chishti. When the latter came from Afghanistan to India in the closing years of the 12th century AD, he is said to have stopped to pray and meditate at the tomb of Sheikh al-Hujwiri to seek permission to go further into the Indian subcontinent. It is related that Sheikh Mu'in al-Din received permission to proceed, together with the broadest authority, and as a result, the Chishti Sufi order is probably the most extensive lineage in South Asia. [Reference: http://sufibooks.co.uk/al-hujwiri-m105.html] [Translator's note]

77. Al-Hujwiri, **"***kashf al-mahjoub***"** ("Revelation of the Mystery") (in Arabic); p. 234 [The "Revelaion of the Mystery" is also found in English as "The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism" by Ali B. 'Uthman Al-Jullaybi Al-Hujwiri, translated by Reynold A. Nicholson, found on the following link: http://www.archive.org/stream/kashfalmahjub00usmauoft/kashfalmahjub00usmauoft_djvu.txt] Also, it is likely that this quote actually belongs to Abu Bakr al-Kattani (d. 322 AH) and not al-Hujwiri as the majority of Sufi resources reference this saying to him (al-Kattani). [English translation of this quote taken directly from "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; 2007, p. 290] [Translator's note]

78. Abu 'l-Husayn al-Nuri, in full Ahmed Ibn Abu al-Hassan al-Nuri (d. 907 AD), known also as al-Nuri, was a leading figure in the Sufi community of Baghdad that centered on Abu 'l-Qasim al-Junayd (d. 298/910); and the two men were life-long friends. Nuri was renowned for his eloquence and sincerity of belief and practice. But sometimes his words and actions drew the disapproval of public officials and preachers. For instance, Nuri's declaration of his passionate love for God led to a series of trials and eventually to his exile from Baghdad. He is the author of "*maqamat al-qulub"* (*Stations of the Hearts*) and is famous for saying, "I love God and God loves me". He is one of the earliest Sufis who was clearly mystical as illustrated by his saying "Joining with the Truth is parting from everything else, as parting with everything else is joining with it". His poetry and statements are narrated in popular Sufism. According to popular accounts, he gained the title "Nuri" because he "radiated light when talking". [References: http://www.luckynmalone.co.uk/2010/02/sufism-resources-nuri/ and http://www.poetry-chaikhana.com/A/alNuriAbulHu/index.htm] [Translator's note]

79. Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami, "*tabaqat al-sufiyya*" (lit., "Classes/ Levels of Sufism", in Arabic); p. 167
[English translation of this quote taken directly from, "Voices of Islam: Voices of life: Family, Home, and Society" in Section 14. Sufi Foundations of the Ethics of Social Life in Islam, Kenneth Lee Honerkamp; edited by Vincent J. Cornell; Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007; p. 182; found on the link provided in reference 74] [Translator's note]

80. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, "*madarij al-salikin*" (lit., "The Stages of Wayseekers"); 2/316

81. Refer to Qasem Ghani, "*tarikh al-tasawwuf fi al-islam*" ("The History of Sufism in Islam", in Arabic), Arabized by Sadeq Nasha'at; Cairo, Egypt; 1970; p. 427

82. Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, "*ihya 'ulum ad-din*" ("The Revival of the Religious Sciences"); Beirut, Lebanon; 1/20

83. *Mushahada*; Arabic: lit., "witnessing", "observation" or "viewing"; derivation: shuhud means "witnesses". In Sufi terminology *mushahada* represents "the vision of God or the Divine obtained by the illuminated heart of the seeker of truth". Through *mushahada,* the Sufi acquires *yaqin* (real certainty), which cannot be achieved by the intellect or transmitted to those who do not travel the Sufi path. The Sufi has to pass various ritual stages (*maqam*) and spiritual states (*ahwal*) before he can attain the state of *mushahada,* which is eventually given to him only by an act of the sheer grace of God. *Mushahada,* therefore, cannot be reached through good works or *mujahada* (struggle) alone. [Reference: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/398862/mushahadah] [Translator's note]

84. See: Muhammad Bin al-Tayyeb; "*islam al-mutasawwifa*" (lit., "Sufi Islam", in Arabic); Dar al-Tali'a; Beirut, Lebanon; First edition; 2007; p. 31

85. For Muslims, *tawhid* is an affirmation of monotheism and of the Oneness of God, based on the belief that God is One (*wahad*) and Unique (*ahad*) (with *wahad*, *ahad* and *tawhid* all being linguistic derivatives of the Arabic root word meaning, "one"). For Sufis, *tawhid* is not only the affirmation in speech of God's oneness and unity, or unicity, but also, and as importantly, a practical and existential realization of that oneness

and unity, or unicity. It involves a practical rejection of the concepts tied to the world of multiplicity. Al-Junayd for example “distinguishes four steps, starting from the simple attestation of unicity which is sufficient for ordinary believers, and culminating in the highest rank reserved for the elite, when the creature totally ceases to exist before his Lord, thus achieving *al-fana’ fi al-tawhid* or self-annihilation/dissolution into the Oneness, Divine Oneness. [References: D. Gimaret, “Tawhid”, Encyclopedia of Islam; and, Ernst, Carl W., “Words of Ecstasy in Sufism”; Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984]

86. The doctrine of *hulul*, or “the incarnation of God in the human body”, was one of the cardinal tenets of the *ghulat* (*ghulat* literally means ‘extremist’, but here it means “theological extremist” rather than an extremist in the political sense, and *ghulat* is a term associated with devotion to the Imam Ali Ibn Abi Talib). According to al-Hallaj, the doctrine of *hulul* represents man as essentially divine because he was created by God in his own image, and that is why, in the Qur’anic verse 2: 32, God bids the angels worship Adam. In *hulul*, which is treated as *tawhid* taking place in this present life, the deity of God enters the human soul in the same way that the soul enters the body at birth. This teaching is a fusion of the old pre-Islamic Persian beliefs as to incarnation and the philosophical theories of Neo-platonism, of the Intellect or rational soul or spirit, as it is more commonly called by English writers, the part added to the animal soul as an emanation from the Agent Intellect, to which it will ultimately return and with which it will be united (cf. Massignon: “Kitab al-Tawasin”, Paris, 1913). Pantheistic and monist views regarding this doctrine and the general doctrine of *hulul* occur frequently in Sufi teaching, but they are by no means universal. Indeed, one cannot make any accurate statement of Sufi doctrine in detail, but only of general principles and tendencies as the Sufis do not form a sect, but are simply devotees of mystical tendencies spread through all the branches of the Muslim community [Reference: “Arabic Thought and its Place in History”, by De Lacy O’Leary, [1922], at sacred-texts. comp. 181; found on the following link: http://www.sacred-texts.com/isl/ath/ath09.htm] [Translator’s note]

87. *Ijtihad;* refer back to footnote 16

88. *Takfir*; refer back to footnote 54
89. For more on the tragedy of al-Hallaj, refer to Louis Massignon, “Hallaj: Mystic and Martyr”; edited and translated by Herbert Mason; abridged

edition with a new preface by Herbert Mason; Princeton University Press; 1994; a copy of this book can be found on Google books on the following link: http://books.google.com/books/p/princeton?id=zJTN0S3uKk0C&printsec=frontcover&cd=1&source=gbs_ViewAPI&hl=en#v=onepage&q&f=false

90. The Mu'tazila represents a religious movement founded in Basra in the first half of the 2nd century AH or 8th century AD by Wasil b. 'Ata' (d. 131/748 [q.v.]). It subsequently became one of the most important theological schools of Islam. The origin of this term – which has the sense of 'those who separate themselves, who stand aside' – remains enigmatic. They are also sometimes called the "Rationalists". http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ei2/mu-tazila.htm [Translators note]

91. Abu 'Ala Afifi, "*al-tassawuf: al-thawra al-ruhiyah fi al-Islam*" (lit., "Sufism: The Spiritual Revolution in Islam"); pp. 112-114

92. Ibn Jawzi, "*talbis iblis*" ("The Devil's Deception"); p. 317

93. *Fatwa* (s.); *fatwas* (pl.) refers to an Islamic legal opinion/s usually issued on matters related to everyday life; an Islamic religious ruling; a scholarly opinion on a matter of Islamic law. A *fatwa* is issued by a recognized religious authority. [Reference: "Women and Politics: From the Perspective of Islamic Movements in Jordan", by Hassan Abu Haniyeh, published by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Amman Office, 2008] [Translators note]

94. Al-Qushayri, "*al risaalatul al-qushayri fi 'ilim al-tassawuf*" ("The Qushayri Epistle on Sufism", sometimes known as "The Qushayri Treatise" or Qushayri *Risala*, in Arabic); p. 20

95. Abu 'Ala Afifi, "*al-tassawuf: al-thawra al-ruhiyah fi al-islam*" (lit., "Sufism: The Spiritual Revolution in Islam"); p. 129

96. On *mukashafa* or *kashf:* The literal meaning of the word *kashf* is "unveiling", but in Sufi terminology it means to expose the heart to metaphysical illumination or "revelation" unattainable by reason. There is supposed to be yet a higher stage beyond *kashf* which is called *al-tajali*, or divine manifestation [...] [from the following link: http://www.qss.org/articles/sufism/sufi15.html]
Al-Qushayri expands on al-Kalabadhi's proposal that *tajali* (divine

manifestation) of "the essence" of the Divine is called *mukashafa*. He then illustrates three stages in progression towards understanding the real, The Truth (*al-Haqq*):

Muhadara: getting oneself into position vis-à-vis the objective sought. The objective remains veiled at this stage. This stage presupposes the presence of the heart, but relies on transmission of proof through the intellect (i.e. understanding God through his miraculous signs).

Mukashafa: lifting of the veil; here, reasoning (of the intellect) gives way to evident proof (through intuition). One directly encounters the Attributes of God. Yet, this stage is still considered an intermediary stage.

Mushahada: (of which comes the derivative used in this quote, "*shuhud*"): a direct vision; this stage indicates an immediate encounter with The Real, without the intellect or the intuition acting as an intermediary. This is direct experience of the Divine Essence.

Al-Ghazali discusses the concept of *kashf*, not purely in its mystical sense, but also with respect to theology in general. In conjunction with al-Qushayri, al-Ghazali links *kashf* with intuition. For al-Ghazali, *mukashafa* has a dual sense:

It indicates an inner state of purification, which is subjective and brought about by "unveiling" or *kashf*.

It describes the objective truths that are revealed through the "unveiling"/ *kashf*.

Since, for Al-Ghazali, *kashf* is linked to intuition, he describes *mukashafa* as the certain knowledge of the unseen discovered by the "science of the elders (saints)". Thus, *kashf* is considered **"**a light**"** that is freely bestowed upon the purified worshipper through the grace of God, yet also yields sure intuitive knowledge for the worshipper upon whom it is bestowed.

Ibn 'Arabi indicates the necessity for "divine unveiling" (*kashf*) as the means by which to understand the universality of the reality of realities, or the truth of truths (i.e. the universality of God's oneness). In *fana* (self-annihilation), the individual ego passes away and divine self-manifestation occurs. This self-manifestation is eternal (as it comes from God), but it must be continually re-enacted by the human in time. Therefore, the human becomes a pure receptor required for pure consciousness to be realized. The human is a sort of *barzakh* or intermediary between divinity and elementality, between spirit and matter, and open to the experience of *kashf*.

[References: L. Gardet, "Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition"; *"Kashf"*; and: Sells, Michael (1998); JSTOR "'Ibn 'Arabi's Polished Mirror: Perspective Shift and Meaning Event". Studia Islamica 67: 121–149. JSTOR; Retrieved 4 April 2011] [Translator's note]

97. Irfan Abdel Hamid Fatah, “*nasha’at al-falsafa al-sufiyya wa tatawiraha*” (lit., “The Emergence and Development of Sufi Philosophy”, in Arabic); p.159

98. For *shuhud*; *mushada* refer back to footnote 83 and 96

99. ‘Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha’rani, “*luwaqih al-anthar*” (lit., “Zygotes of Perception”, in Arabic); 1:4

100. Little is known of the author of this classic Arabic text and treatise in the history of Sufism, “The Mystical Aspect of Islam”, Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi, except that he was a lawyer and died in Bukhara in about 990 AD (380 AH). His book, “*kitab al-ta’arruf li-madhhab ahl al-tasawwuf*” or “The Doctrine of the Sufis”, is the work on which his fame rests. It is important because it is the earliest extant text to reconcile the position of Sufism and orthodox Islam. It was immediately accepted as authoritative and has been esteemed by the Arabs, especially by the Sufis, as perhaps the most valuable compendium of Sufism in print. The book consists of five parts: a general introduction on the meaning of the term Sufi and an enumeration of the names of great Sufis; a statement of the tenets of Islam, as accepted by the Sufis; a discussion of the various `stations’ of the Sufis such as fear, hope and love; the expressions used by them to designate true mystical experience, union with God; and a discussion of the various phenomena of Sufism. [Reference: http://kitaabun.com/shopping3/product_info.php?products_id=3680] [Translator’s note]

101. Refer to al-Kalabadhi, “*kitab al-ta’arruf li-madhhab ahl al-tasawwuf*” (“The Doctrine of the Sufis”, in Arabic); p. 37

102. Sheikh Ma’ruf al-Karkhi was born in the district of Wasit or Karkh in Baghdad. His original religion is usually understood to have been Christian, which may mean that the Armenian Islamic preacher and mystic, Farqad Sabakhi, may have mentored Ma’ruf Karkhi. Al-Attar narrates in his “Memorial of the Saints” that Ma’ruf converted to Islam at a young age at the hands of Ali Ibn Musa after rejecting all forms of polytheism. After accepting Islam, Mar’uf fell under the teaching of Dawud Ta›i, and underwent very strict disciplining, but remaining steadfast and becoming the successor of his master. In Sufism, Marufi orders are those connected to Ma’ruf al-Karkhi and Sufis venerate Ma’ruf highly for the multiple spiritual chains which interlock with his teachings.

[Reference: http://majzooban.org/en/biography/255-maruf-karkhi.html] [Translator's note]

103. Al-Qushayri, "al *risaalatul al-qushayri"* ("Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism", in Arabic); p. 280

104. Al-Qushayri, "*al risaalatul al-qushayri"* ("Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism", in Arabic); p. 280 [English translation of original Arabic quote taken directly from "Al-Junayd al-Baghdadi", by GF Haddad quoting al-Qushayri; found on the following link: http://sunnah.org/history/Scholars/Al-Junayd%20al-Baghdadi.htm]

105. Abu Bakr al-Kattani, in full Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Ja'far al-Kattani, was a native of Baghdad and belonged to the circle of al-Junayd. He proceeded to Mecca on the pilgrimage (the *hajj*), and took up residence there until his death in 322 AH (934 AD). He was called the "Lamp of the Sanctuary" and was a resident in Mecca up to the day of his death. He used to pray all the night through and chant the entire Qur'an; in the course of circling the Kaaba he completed twelve thousand recitations in all. For thirty years he was seated in the sanctuary under the waterspout, and in all those thirty years one ritual washing every twenty-four hours sufficed him. Tradition says that throughout the whole period he never slept. [Reference: http://www.oozebap.org/biblio/pdf/sufi-saints.pdf] [Translator's note]

106. *Mushahada;* refer back to footnote 83 and 96

107. Al-Kalabadhi, "*kitab al-ta'arruf li-madhhab ahl al-tasawwuf*" ("The Doctrine of the Sufis", in Arabic); p. 108

108. '*Ulama*, also spelled '*ulema*, is the plural of '*alim*, or Arabic for "man of knowledge", teacher or authority and '*alim* is derived from the term '*ilm*, or belief in God. The opposite of '*alim* is *jahl*, meaning ignorance. *Al-Jahilia* or *jahiliyah* refers, usually derisively, to the period before Islam – the period of ignorance, in Islamic teaching. Both terms – '*alim* and *jahl* - appear frequently in the Qur'an. The '*ulama*, therefore, are guardians against a return to *jahiliyah*. The '*ulama,* as a class, are men of knowledge in Sunni Islam who have been trained in the religious sciences such as the Qur'an, the Sunna, Hadith and *shari'a*, and so on, and who exercise their authority in the mosques or madrassas. As such, they are similar to a clergy. Since the late 18th century, the term '*alim* has also been applied

to secular men of science or learning. A ‘*alim* may lead prayers and deliver the Friday sermon, but also perform rituals at marriages, birth, deaths and other such occasions. [Reference: http://middleeast.about.com/od/u/g/ulema-definition.htm]

109. For more details on this subject refer to Abu ‘Ala Afifi, “*al-mulamatiyya wal sufiyya wa ahl al-fatuwa*” (lit., “The Mulamati, the Sufis and the Munificent People”, in Arabic); Cairo, Egypt; 1945

110. *Sunni* is a broad term derived from the term “*sunna”* which in Arabic means “habit” or “usual practice”. The Muslim usage of this term refers to the sayings and living habits of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). In its full and also in contemporary form, this branch of Islam can refer to Islam in its orthodox “Sunni” or “Sunnite” version. However, anyone claiming to follow the Prophet’s Sunna who can show that they have no action or belief against the Prophetic Sunna can consider him or herself to be a Sunni Muslim. It should be noted that Shi’a Muslims also hold that they follow the Sunna. [Translator’s note]

111. Refer to Muhammad Bin al-Tayyeb, “*islam al-mutasawwifa*” (lit., “Sufi Islam”) (in Arabic); pp. 46-47

112. For more details about Ibn ‘Arabi and his influence on Sufism and on his *madhab* (doctrine) refer to Asín Palacios, “Estudio del sufismo a través de las obras de Abenárabi de Murcia”; Madrid: Editorial Plutarco, 1931; reprint 1981; 1990 by Ediciones Hiperión; Madrid, Spain; 543 pages (in Spanish). Also refer to the Arabic translation of ‘Abd al-Rahman Badawi, “*ibn ‘arabi, hayatuhu wa-madhhabuh*” (lit., “Ibn ‘Arabi: His Life and Madhab [Doctrine]”, in Arabic); Maktabat al-Anjlu al-Misriyah, Cairo; 1965; Wikalat al-Matbu’at, Kuwait and Dar al-Qalam, Beirut; 1970; see also Muhammad al-Adlouni al-Idrisi, “*madrassat Ibn ‘Arabi wa madhhabuh fil wihdeh*” (“The School of Ibn ‘Arabi and his *Madhab* [Doctrine] of al-Wihda [Oneness/Unity of Existence]”, in Arabic), Dar al-Thaqafeh, Casablanca, Morocco; 1998

113. For more details on Ibn Sab’in and his *madhab* (doctrine) refer to Muhammad al-Idrisi, “*falasafat al-wihda fi tasawwuf ibn sab’in*” (lit., “The Philosophy of *al-Wihda* [Oneness/Unity of Existence] in the Sufism of Ibn Sab’in”), Dar al-Thaqafa, Casablanca, Morocco; 1998; also refer to Abu al-Wafa’ Ghunaymi al-Taftazani ”*ibn sab’in wal falasafa al-sufiyya*” (lit., “Ibn Sab’in and Sufi Philosophy”), Dar al-Kitab al-Lubnani; Beirut,

Lebanon, 1973.

114. Muhammad Bin al-Tayyeb; "*islam al-mutasawwifa*" (lit., "Sufi Islam", in Arabic); pp. 50-51

115. *Wisal*: Union or Re-union: finding and knowing God in one's heart or conscience. It also denotes acquiring full knowledge (gnosis) and love of God. [Reference: "Key Concepts in the Practice of Sufism: Emerald Hills of the Heart"; Volume 1; by M. Fethullah Gulen; originally published in Turkish; translated by Ani Unal; English edition published by The Light Publishers, New Jersey, USA; 1998, p. 175] [Translator's note]

116. The terms *ittisal* and *wusul* are used by Sufis to describe "final arrival in the Divine [...]". One way Ha-Levi speaks of the religious path or goal is in relational terms – or, as union, communion, contact, connection, or conjunction (*ittisal*) as well as attaining, arriving at, or reaching the Divine (*wusul*). Both terms stem from the Arabic root "*wasala*". *Wasala* means to connect, join, unite, combine or link; and also to arrive at or reach, perhaps through a process of connection. These terms were the subject of great controversy in 12th century Muslim Spain. Because they describe the very goal and purpose of religious life, these key terms reach to the heart of each group's identity: philosophers, mystics and mainstream scholars. [Reference: "Between Mysticism and Philosophy: Sufi Language of Religious Experience in Judah Ha-Levi's *Kazari*", By Diana Lobel; State University of New York; 2000; pp. 21 and 43] [Translator's note]

117. Nicholson, Reynold A., "The Mystics of Islam" (Arabized by Abul 'Ala Afifi); p. 104

118. Ibn Khaldun, "*shifa' al-sa'il li-tahdhib al-masa'il*" (lit., "The Healing of the Seeker", in Arabic); ed. M. al-Tanji, 1957; trans. R. Pérez;1991; p. 70

119. The classical Sufi doctrine of certainty involves three degrees: the knowledge of certainty (*'ilm al-yaqin*), the eye of certainty (*'ayn al-yaqin*) and the reality of certainty (*haqq al-yaqin*). Hujwiri (d. ca. 465/1072) describes these in the following manner: "By *'ilm al-yaqin* the Sufis mean knowledge of (religious) practice (*mu'amalat*) in this world according to the Divine commandments; by *'ayn al-yaqin* they mean knowledge of the state of dying (*naz'*) and the time of departure from this world; and

by *haqq al-yaqin* they mean the unveiling (*kashf*) of the vision (of God) that will be revealed in Paradise, and of its nature. Therefore, *'ilm al-yaqin* is the rank of religious scholars (*'ulama*) on account of their correct observance of the divine commands, and *'ayn al-yaqin* is the station of gnostics (*maqam-i 'arifan*) on account of their readiness for death, and *haqq al-yaqin* is the annihilation-point of lovers (*fana'gah-i dustan*), on account of their rejection of all 'existent beings and things' (*mawjudat*)" In these three degrees of certainty, one clearly sees a hierarchy of states of consciousness, one which corresponds to a three-fold hierarchy of human identity: the scholars, the gnostics, and at the highest degree, the lovers. According to a later Sufi, Najm al-Din Razi (d. 654/1256), "certainty" arises when one strives to become aware of the spiritual world, while living in accordance with the *shari'a*. According to Razi, if one simply tries to use one's rational mind, one will fall into mere philosophy and unbelief. The key to certainty is the practice of *shari'a*, which leads to the awareness that everything is a manifestation of an attribute of God. In the following passage, Razi discusses the nature of certainty, "But [in contrast to the mere philosopher and the heretic] …the possessor of true felicity nourish[es] the seed of the spirit in accordance with the law of *shari'a* until all his senses attain perfection. He will then perceive, through his outer and inner senses, all the three hundred and sixty thousand realms that constitute the material and spiritual worlds (*mulk va malakut*)…He sees every atom in each of these worlds to be a manifestation of one of the divine attributes containing within it one of God's signs; he removes the veil from the face of the manifestations, and the beauty of God's signs is displayed to him. As the poet Abu al-'Atahiya stated: In every thing is a sign (aya) of His pointing to the fact that He is One (ahad). This is the threshold of the world of certainty (*yaqin*)…Then the pure essence of God may be known in its unity, and the attributes (*sifat*) of divinity may be contemplated with the eye of certainty (*'ayn al-yaqin*). [Reference: http://www.australiansuficentre.org/article_tasawwuf.htm] [Translator's note]

120. Al-Suhrawardi, "*'awarif al-ma'arif*" ("The Benefits of Gnosis" or, otherwise known as "The Gifts of Deep Knowledge") (in Arabic), Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, Beirut, Lebanon; First edition; 1966; p. 528

121. Ibid; p. 528

122. The English translation of the original Arabic quote was supported by a text taken directly from "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu

al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization; Garnet Publishing Ltd; 2007 p. 117 [Translator's note]

123. Al-Qushayri, "*al-risaalatul al-qushayriya*" ("Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism", in Arabic), researched and prepared by 'Abd al-Halim Mahmoud and Mahmoud Sharif; Matbat'at Hassan, Cairo; 1974; 2/731

124. Al-Ghazali, "*al-munqidh min al-dalal*" (in English known as "His Deliverance from Error" or "The Deliverer from
Error" or "Rescuer from Misguidance", in Arabic); researched by Samih Dugheim; Beirut; 1993; p. 26

125. *Mi'raj*: The Heavenly (and Nightly) Journey of the Prophet of Islam is explained in two Suras of the Qur'an, with allusions to this journey found in other Suras as well: Surat al-Isra' (17), Verse 1: (Sarah 17 – also known as Bani Isra`il), says: *"Glorified be He who carried His servant at night from Masjid al Haram to Masjid al-Aqsa, the precincts of which We have blessed so that We may show him of Our Signs. Verily He is the All Hearing, the All-Seeing."*
From this verse, the conclusion is that the Prophet Muhammad traveled with his physical body through the worlds of Ascension. Further, by the greatness of the Hidden Power, he was able to complete this journey in a very short span of time and his journey was accomplished by relying upon the power of God and His specific and special blessings. Although this verse states that the start of the journey was from *Masjid al-Haram* and ended at *Masjid al Aqsa,* this does not contradict the fact that the Prophet, in addition to this trip, also had other trips towards the higher world, since another part of the journey of Ascension of the Prophet is explained in verses of Sarah al-Najm. Another important part of this verse is that the journey of the Prophet was both bodily and not just a spiritual pilgrimage, and this is confirmed by the words (*"abdihi"*), meaning "His servant" which is used to mean both the body and the spirit. [Surat al-Najm, Verses 12 to 18] [Reference: "Me'raj - The Night Ascension", compiled by Mullah Faidh al Kashani; Translated by: Saleem Bhimji; published by*:* Islamic Humanitarian Service, Canada; found on the link: http://www.al-islam.org/al-miraj/] [Translator's note]

126. Nicholson, "Mystics of Islam" (in Arabic); p. 33 by Reynold A. Nicholson; translated and commented by Nourridin Sharibeh; published

by Maktabat al-Khanji; Cairo, Egypt; Second edition; 1422 AH [English translation taken directly from the full text of the "Mystics of Islam" in English, found on the following link: http://www.archive.org/stream/ReynoldA.Nicholson-TheMysticsOfIslam/ran-mysticism_djvu.txt]

127. Al-Qushayri, "*al risaalatul al-qushayri fi 'ilim al-tassawuf*" ("The Qushayri Epistle on Sufism", in Arabic); 1/234 [English translation taken directly from "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization; Garnet Publishing Ltd; 2007; p. 226]

128. Ibn Khaldun, "*al-muqaddimah*" (in Arabic); Al Dar al-Tunisia; Tunis, Tunisia; First Edition; 1984 1995, 2/585

129. Al-Qushayri, "*al risaalatul al-qushayri fi 'ilim al-tassawuf*" ("The Qushayri Epistle on Sufism") (in Arabic); 1/234 [English translation taken directly from "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization; Garnet Publishing Ltd; 2007 p. 78]

130. Al-Suhrawardi, "*'awarif al-ma'arif*" (lit., "The Benefits of Gnosis" or otherwise known as "The Gifts of Deep Knowledge") (in Arabic); 1966; p. 470 [English translation taken directly from "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization; Garnet Publishing Ltd; 2007 p. 78]

131. Al-Tusi, Abu Nasr al-Sarraj*, "al-luma'"* (otherwise known as "Al-Luma'" or "The Book of the Essentials of Sufism") (in Arabic); p. 64 [English translation taken directly from, Islamic Quarterly, "The Doctrine of One Actor: Junayd's View of Tawhid", by Muhammad 'Abd al-Haqq Ansari; p. 90; found on the following link: http://www.salaam.co.uk/knowledge/junayd-tawhid.pdf]

132. Al-Tusi, Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, *"al-luma'"* (otherwise known as "Al-Luma'" or "The Book of the Essentials of Sufism") (in Arabic); p.65 [Englsh translations of the terms used by Tusi were taken directly from: The Full Text of "The Kitab al-Luma Fil Tasawwuf of Abu Nasr Abdallah B. Ali Al-Sarraj al-Tusi", edited for the first time with critical notes, abstract

of contents, glossary and indices by Reynold Alleyne Nicholson and printed for the Trustees of the E.J. W. Gibb Memorial; Leyden: E.J. Brill, Imprimerie Orientals. London: Luzac & Co; 1914; found on the following link: http://www.archive.org/details/kitaballuma00sarruoft]

133. Abu Ismail al-Ansari al-Harawi*, “manazil al-sa’ireen illa al-haqq al-mubeen*” (lit., “The Stations of the Seekers Towards the Manifest Truth”), researched by ‘Abd al-Hafez Mansour; Tunis, Tunisia; 1989, 1/52

134. Ibn Khaldun, “*ahifa’ al-sa’il li-tadhdib al-masa’il*” (“The Healing of the Seeker”, in Arabic); p. 87

135. Al-Suhrawardi, “*’awarif al-ma’arif*” (“The Benefits of Gnosis” or, otherwise known as “The Gifts of Deep Knowledge”, in Arabic); p. 475

136. Abu ‘Ala Afifi, “*al-tassawuf: al-thawra al-ruhiyah fi al-islam*” (lit., “Sufism: The Spiritual Revolution in Islam”, in Arabic). p. 23

137. *Mujahada*: meaning self-exertion on the path of God; or the Sufi practice aimed at minimizing detrimental drives and promptings of the lower soul through abstention from the delights of this world and strict self-discipline; from the glossary of “Al-Qushayri’s Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri”, translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization; Garnet Publishing Ltd; 2007 p. 421] [Translator’s note]

138. Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, “*ayuha al-walad*” (“Oh My Young Man”) (in Arabic), with a translation into French; Tawfiq al-Sabbagh, Al-Lajna al-Duwali li Tarjamat al-Rawa’I (International Society for Translating Masterpieces); Beirut, Second edition; 1959; p. 27 [English translation taken directly from: “An excerpt from Imam Ghazali’s Ayyuhal Walad”, translated by Shaikh Seraj Hendricks as: “Ayyuhal Walad, “Oh my Young Man”, found on the following link: http://mzone.mweb.co.za/residents/mfj1/walad.htm]

139. Al-Kalabadhi, “*kitab al-ta’arruf li-madhhab ahl al-tasawwuf*” (“The Doctrine of the Sufis”, in Arabic); p. 105

140. *Dhikr* means: remembrance/recollection of God and his names, and has two significances: 1) Remembrance; 2) Reminder, statement,

mention. *Dhikr Allah* can then have four meanings: 1) Remembrance of God (by us); 2) Remembrance by God (of us); 3) A reminder or message coming from God; 4) A reminder or message about God.
In the Qur'an, when *dhikr* is used by itself, its primary meaning is the reminder or message from God, including the Qur'an and earlier revealed books. But when it is used as a phrase like "*dhikr Allah*", its primary meaning seems to be the remembrance of God by human beings and recollection of God and his names and attributes. [Reference: http://www.islamicperspectives.com/Dhikr.htm] [Translator's note]

141. Al-Ghazali, "*ihya 'ulum ad-din"* ("The Revival of the Religious Sciences", in Arabic); Beirut, Lebanon; 3/73 [English translation taken directly from al-Ghazali, "Abstinence in Islam": Kasr al Shahwatayn (Curbing the Two Appetites), from *"ihya 'ulum ad-din*, also known as "Revivification of the Sciences of Religion", translation and notes by Caesar E. Farah, University of Minnesota*,* Bibliotheca Islamica, Minneapolis; 1992; p. 48. Ghazali, III: 87, n. 1; found on the following link: http://www.ghazali.org/works/abstin.htm]

142. Ibid; 3/12; [English translation taken directly from "Al-Ghazali: The Mystic: A Study of the Life and Personality of Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Tusi al-Ghazali, together with an account of his Mystical Teaching and an estimate of his place in the History of Islamic Mysticism", by Margaret Smith; Al-Hijra Publishers; 140, IV, pp. 140, 341. Rau'ai al-Tdlibin, pp. 8. Cf, p. 95 above. 3 10, III, p. 11. "Al-Ghazali's Mystical Teaching"; 171; found on the following link: www.ghazali.org/books/smith-gz.rtf]

143. Abu 'Ala Afifi, "*al-tassawuf: al-thawra al-ruhiyah fi al-islam*" (lit., "Sufism: The Spiritual Revolution in Islam") (in Arabic). p. 263

144. Nicholson, "Mystics of Islam" (in Arabic); p. 79 [English translation taken directly from the full text of the "Mystics of Islam", in English, p. 30; found on the following link: http://www.archive.org/stream/ReynoldA.Nicholson-TheMysticsOfIslam/ran-mysticism_djvu.txt]

145. Dr. Muhammad Ali Abu Rayyan; "*usoul al-falasafa al-ishraqiya 'ind shahab al-din al-suhrawardi*" (lit., "Origins of Shahab al-Din al-Suhrawardi's Philosophy of Illumination", in Arabic); Maktabat al-Injlou Masriya; Cairo, Egypt; First edition; 1959; p. 288
146. Al-Tusi, *"al-luma'"* (otherwise known as "Al-Luma'" or "The Book of the Essentials of Sufism", in Arabic); p. 436

147. Ibid; p.422

148. Ibid; p.439

149. A great debate exists around the notion of *ishraq* (illumination); refer to Abu Rayyan, "*usoul al-falasafa al-ishraqiya 'ind shahab al-din al-suhrawardi*" (lit., "Origins of Shahab al-Din al-Suhrawardi's Philosophy of Illumination", in Arabic)

150. Muhammad Bin al-Tayyeb; "*islam al-mutasawwifa*" (lit., "Sufi Islam", in Arabic); pp. 71-72

151. Ibn 'Arabi, "*al-futuhat al-makkiya*" ("The Meccan Revelations", in Arabic); 3/565

152. "Even to love God is an exercise in subject-object experience" [reference: http://www.rumormillnews.com/cgi-bin/archive.cgi/noframes/read/32049-].The "subject-object" refers to notions of non-dualism – or affinity, or unity, rather than duality or separateness or multiplicity; "Object-Subject-Union" is the model and origin of all possible objects and subjects, and of the longing of the latter for the former […] The fact that this spiritual method *par excellence* consists in "sacramental" concentration on the revealed Name of God (*dhikr 'allah)* indicates clearly that the practical side of Islamic esoterism is the very opposite of giving free play to man's unregenerate subjectivity. Indeed, it amounts to the exposing of his unregenerate subjectivity to the normative and transforming influence of the Divine "Object", God transcendent. At the same time, and even more esoterically, it is the exposing of man's paltry egoism, seen in turn as an "object" (illusorily other than God), to the withering and yet quickening influence of the Divine "Subject," God immanent; the Name of God (*Allah*) being both transcendent Object and immanent Subject (*Madhkur* and *Dhakir*) .These two contrasting attitudes or "stations" (*maqamat*) — spiritual extinction before the Divine Object and spiritual rebirth in the Divine Subject—are the two aspects, objective and subjective, of unitive Knowledge (*ma'rifa*). In Sufi treatises, they have been called, respectively, *fana'* (extinction) and *baqa'* (permanence). [Reference: Aspects of Islamic Esoterism, by William Stoddart Source: *Studies in Comparative Religion*, Vol. 13, Nos. 3 & 4; 1979; found on the following link: http://www.studiesincomparativereligion.com/Public/articles/Aspects_of_Islamic_Esoterism-by_William_Stoddart.aspx#_ftnref3] [Translator's note]

153. Irfan Abdel Hamid Fatah, "*nasha'at al-falsafa al-sufiyya wa tatawiraha*" (lit., "The Emergence and Development of Sufi Philosophy") (in Arabic); p. 87

154. *Mahabba/hubb* is defined in the glossary of "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism" as "mystical love of God and loving relationship between God and man" [Reference: from the glossary of "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; p. 421] [Translator's note]

155. Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, "*ihya 'ulum ad-din"* ("The Revival of the Religious Sciences", in Arabic); 4/254

156. Al-Suhrawardi, "*'awarif al-ma'arif*" (lit., "The Benefits of Gnosis" otherwise known as "The Gifts of Deep Knowledge", in Arabic); p. 504

157. See Muhammad Fuad 'Abd al-Baqi, "*al mojam el mofahras li alfaz el qur'an al kareem*" (lit., "Index of Classified Ayahs of the Qur'an" also known in English as "The Dictionary of the Qur'an", in Arabic); Cairo, Egypt; 1996; pp. 234-236

158. *Surat 'Ali 'Imran* (Family of Imran); 3: 31; English translation: Sahih International; found on the following link: http://quran.com/3 [Translator's note]

159. *Surat Al-Ma'idah* (The Table Spread); 5:54; translation: Sahih International, found on the following link:
http://quran.com/5 [Translator's note]

160. For more details on these matters, refer to "*al-hubb al-illahi fil tasawwuf al-islami: dirasa fi tatawur al-dali'i*" (published as "Love of God in Islamic Mysticism: A Study in Semantic Development" in English and French); Institut Dominicain, Mideo 23, Paris, France,1997; pp. 239-258

161. Narrated by Bukhari in the book of "*al-raq'iq bab aal-al-tawadu'*" (in Arabic); 11/348; number 6502 [English translation taken directly from "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; p. 103; with a footnote in "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism" calling for further reference to the full version of this "Sacred Hadith" (*hadith qudsi*) and its implications for Sufi theory and practice, see Chittick, "The Sufi Path of Knowledge", pp. 325-331; cf. idem., "The Self-Disclosure of God", pp. 290-291.]

162. Refer back to footnote 36 Margaret Smith (Author)

163. Abu Na'im al-Asbahani, "*hilyat al-awliya' wa tabaqat al-asfiya*'" (lit., "Jewels of the Elders (Saints) and the Generations of Pure Adherents", in Arabic), Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya; Beirut; First Edition; 1418 AH; 8/36

164. Ibid; 6/213

165. Ibid; 6/156

166. Ibid; 6/173

167. Ibn Taymiyya, "*al-sufiyya wal fuqara'*" (lit., "Sufism and the Poor") (in Arabic); p. 12

168. English translation of this quote taken directly from "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; p. 209 [Translator's note]

169. Abu Na'im al-Asbahani, "*hilyat al-awliya' wa tabaqat al-asfiya*'" (lit., "Jewels of the Elders (Saints) and the Generations of Pure Adherents") (in Arabic); 6/253

170. *Fana'*: The mystic's self-annihilation in God; from the glossary of "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; p. 418; also refer back to footnotes 37, 85, 96 and 119 of this text [Translator's note]

171. Refer to Ali Sami al-Nashar, "*nasha'at al-fikr al-falsafi*" (lit., "The Emergence of Philosophical Thought", in Arabic); 3/176

172. Ibid; p. 127 [English translation of this quote taken directly from "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; p. 327]

173. Al-Izzudin Bin 'Abd al-Salam, "*sharh hal al-awliya*" (lit., "On the Spiritual State of the Elders (Saints)"; Manuscript no. 1641 (Arabic); p. 253; Maktabat al-Ahliya (Bibliothèque nationale de France), Paris

174. *Da'irat al-Ma'arif Al-Islamiyya* (in Arabic); Dar al-Ma'rifa; Beirut; 5/297-298

175. Refer to Ali Sami al-Nashar, “*nasha’at al-fikr al-falsafi*” (lit., “The Emergence of Philosophical Thought”, in Arabic); 3/203

176. Al-Zubaidi, “*ithaf al-sada al-mutaqin fi sharh ihya ‘ulum ad-din”* (lit., “Gifts from the Pious in Explaining the Revival of the Religious Sciences”, in Arabic); 5/576

177. Ibn Jawzi, “*sifat al-safwa*” (lit., “The Attributes of Purity”, in Arabic); 4/16-39

178. Ibid; 3/288

179. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, “*tariq al-hijratain*” (lit., “The Path of the Two Pilgrimages”, in Arabic); p. 347

180. This second quote is another version of the first (footnote 179) and was taken directly from the following link: http://www.deoband.org/2011/03/tasawwuf/shariah-and-tariqah-tasawwuf/hafiz-ibn-al-qayyim-and-sufism-part-two/] [Translator’s note]

181. *Surat Al-`Ankabut* (The Spider); 29:5; English translation: Sahih International; found on the following link: http://quran.com/29 [Translator’s note]

182. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, “*tariq al-hijratain*” (lit., “The Path of the Two Pilgrimages”, in Arabic); p. 347-348

183. Al-Hujwiri, “*kashf al-mahjub*“ (lit., “Revelation of the Mystery”; found in English as “The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism”, in Arabic); p. 551

184. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, “*madarij al-salikin”* (lit., “The Stages of Wayseekers”, in Arabic); 3/38

185. Ibid; 3/53
186. Muhammad Bin al-Tayyeb; “*islam al-mutasawwifa*” (lit., “Sufi Islam”) (in Arabic); pp. 60-61

187. Here, the term “*that*” meaning the object-self, the object-subject or the essence of the self is used in the Arabic text and not “*nafs*” (appetitive

soul; self) [Translator's note]

188. Refer to al-Husayn Ibn Mansur al-Hallaj, "*kitab al-tawasin*"; Massignon; Paris; 1914; p. 129, transcribed from Muhammad Bin al-Tayyeb; "*islam al-mutasawwifa*" (lit., "Sufi Islam", in Arabic); p. 62, [English translation taken directly from "Studies in Islamic Mysticism" by Reynold Alleyne Nicholson; Routledge Curzon; 2003; p. 80; also: Nicholson's footnote refers to Massignon's "Kitab al-Tawasin"; p. 129; found on the following link: http://books.google.com/books?id=_CfKQ-dxv-EC&pg=PA80&lpg=PA80&dq=Hallaj,+Before+the+creation+God+loved+Himself+in+absolute+unity+and+through+love&source=bl&ots=z6R0X64Q4f&sig=qIzzIObMJRm-BTIpeW4iqO6r5GU&hl=en&ei=5-KbTquVEMHJhAfH0pGjBA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CB8Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Hallaj%2C%20Before%20the%20creation%20God%20loved%20Himself%20in%20absolute%20unity%20and%20through%20love&f=false]

189. Abu 'Ala Afifi, "*al-tassawuf: al-thawra al-ruhiyah fi al-islam*" (lit., "Sufism: The Spiritual Revolution in Islam", in Arabic); p. 63

190. English definitions of the terms *wajd*, *dhawq*, *ghayba* and *sukr* are all taken from the glossary of "Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism: Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri", translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; pp. 418-426; English definitions of *shurub* and *istitlam* taken from "Al-Mawrid" Arabic-English dictionary; Dr. Rohi Baalbaki; Dar-al-Ilm Lilmalayin; Beirut; 2005 [Translator's note]

191. Ignác Goldziher, "*al-'aqida wal shari'a fil islam*" (Lit., "The Doctrine and Shari'a in Islam", published in English as "Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law: Doctrine and Shari'a in Islam", in Arabic); researched by Muhammad Yousef Moussa and others; Dar al-Kitab al-Haditha, Cairo and Maktabat al-Muthana; Baghdad; Second edition; p. 162 [English translation taken from, "Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law", by Ignác Goldziher; translated by Andros and Ruth Hamori; Princeton University Press; 1981; p. 147]

192. Refer to Annemarie Schimmel, "*al-aba'ad al-sufiyya fil islam*' **and "***tarikh al-tasawuff***"** ("The Basic Structure of Metaphysical Thinking in Islam" by Toshihiko Izutsu and "The History of Sufism", in Arabic), translated by Muhammad Ismail al-Sayyed and Rida Hamid Qutub; Manshurat al-Jamal; First Edition; Cologne; Baghdad; 2006; p. 164

[English translation taken directly from “Going Against the Flow: An Exercise in Ethical Syncretism”, by Alan M. Laibelman; Peter Lang Publishing, New York; 2004; p. 171]

193. Subject-object experience; refer back to footnote 152

194. Naji Hussein Jawdat, ”*al-ma’rifa al-sufiyya: dirasa falsafiyya fi mishkilat al-ma’rifa*” (lit., “The Gnosis/Knowledge [*Ma’rifa*] of the Sufi: A Philosophical Study in the Dialetics of Gnosis/Knowledge [*Ma’rifa*]) (in Arabic); Dar Ammar; Amman, First edition; 1992; p. 175

195. On non-delimitation: To call Real Being “one” is to speak of the unity of the Essence. In other terms, it is to say that Being – Light in itself – is nondelimited (*mutlaq*), that is, infinite and absolute, undefined and indefinable, indistinct and indistinguishable. In contrast, everything other than Being – every existent thing (*mawjud*)—is distinct, defined and limited. The Real is incomparable and transcendent, but it discloses itself (*tajallî*) in all things, so it is also similar and immanent. It possesses such utter nondelimitation that it is not delimited by nondelimitation. “God possesses Nondelimited Being, but no delimitation prevents Him from delimitation. On the contrary, He possesses all delimitations, so He is nondelimited delimitation”. [Reference: Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy; Ibn ‘Arabic, first published on Aug 5, 2008; “Ibn ‘Arab, al-Futûhât”; 1911 edition, 3:162.23; found on the following link: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ibn-arabi/#Non] [Translator’s note]

196. Al-Suhrawardi, “*’awarif al-ma’arif*” (“The Benefits of Gnosis” or, otherwise known as “The Gifts of Deep Knowledge”, in Arabic); p. 524

197. Al-Tusi, Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, *“al-luma’”* (otherwise known as “Al-Luma’” or “The Book of the Essentials of Sufism”, in Arabic); p. 416

198. Ibid; p. 32

199. Al-Suhrawardi, “*’awarif al-ma’arif*” (“The Benefits of Gnosis” or, otherwise known as “The Gifts of Deep Knowledge”) (in Arabic); p. 524; also, refer to: Naji Hussein Jawdat, ”*al-ma’rifa al-sufiyya: dirasa falsafiyya fi mishkilat al-ma’rifa*” (lit., “The Gnosis/Knowledge [Ma’rifa] of the Sufi: A Philosophical Study in the Dialetics of Gnosis/Knowledge [Ma’rifa]) (in Arabic); pp. 177-178
200. English translation and definition of *wajd* taken from the glossary of “Al-Qushayri’s Epistle on Sufism”; p. 424 [Translator’s note]

201. The Hanbali School of Islamic jurisprudence is the fourth school of law within Sunni Islam. It derives its decrees from the Qur'an and the Sunna, which places above all forms of consensus, opinion or inference. The school accepts as authoritative an opinion given by a Companion of the Prophet, providing there is no disagreement with another Companion. In the case of such disagreement, the opinion of the Companion nearest to that of the Qur'an or the Sunna is deemed to prevail. The Hanbali School of Jurisprudence was established by Ahmad Bin Hanbal (d. 855), who studied law under different masters, including Imam Shafi'i (who founded his own school). He is regarded as more learned in the traditions than in jurisprudence. His status also derives from his collection and exposition of the Hadith. His major contribution to Islamic scholarship is a collection of fifty-thousand traditions known as '*Musnadul-Imam Hanbal*'. http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/islam/sunni/hanb.html [Translators note]

202. Ibn Taymiyya,"*majmu'a al-fatawa*"; 2:396 [English translation taken and edited from "Article 23" of "On Tasawwuf Ibn Taymiyya"; referenced in *majmu`a al-fatawa al-kubra*; 2:396 397; with article reproduced online with permission from Shaykh M. Hisham Kabbani's, "The Repudiation of Salafi Innovations" (Kazi, 1996) p. 354-366; found on the following link: http://sunnah.org/tasawwuf/scholr23.htm#17]

203. Annmarie Schimmel, "*al-'ab'ad al-sufiyya fil islam wa tarikh al-tasawwuf*" ("Mystical Dimensions of Islam", in Arabic); p. 113 [English translation taken from "Mystical Dimensions of Islam" in English, by Annmarie Schimmel; University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill; 1975; pp.98-99]

204. J. Spencer Trimingham, "*al-turuq al-sufiyya fil islam*" ("The Sufi Orders in Islam", in Arabic) translated by 'Abd al- Qadir al-Bahrawi, Dar al-Nahda al-Arabiyya; Beirut; First edition; 1997; p. 26; [English translation taken and edited from "The Sufi Orders in Islam"; Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford; 1978; 1991; pp. 4-5]

205. Muhammad al-Amin Balghith, "*al-sulta fi al-jaza'ir wa tunis fil qarn 17 miladi min khilal tarikh al-'idwani*" (lit., "The Authority in Algiers and Tunisia in the 17th Century AD in the Chronologies of al-'Idwani", in Arabic); Al-Nadwa al-Fikriyya al-Khamisa lil Sheikh Muhammad al-'Adwani); al-zaqam/al-wadi/1-3 November, 2000 AD; p. 6

206. Fillali Mukhtar al-Taher, "*nash'at al-murabiteen wal turuq al-sufiyya wa athrihuma fi al-jaza'ir khilal al-'ahd al-'uthmani*" (lit., "The Emergence of the Murabitin and the Sufi Orders and their Influence in Algieria during the Ottoman Era", in Arabic); Dar al-Fan al-Qarafiki; Batina; First edition; p. 64

207. Dr 'Abd al-Rahman Turki, "*nash'at al-turuq al-sufiyya bi al-jaza'ir: dirasa tarikhiyya*" (lit., "The Emergence of the Sufi Orders in Algieria: A Historical Study"); from "*majalat al-islam watan"* (The Nation of Islam Magazine, in Arabic); Issue no. 0; 1431 AH; p. 2

208. Fillali Mukhtar al-Taher, "*nash'at al-murabiteen wal turuq al-sufiyya wa athrihuma fi al-jaza'ir khilal al-'ahd al-'uthmani*" (lit., "The Emergence of the Murabitin and the Sufi Orders and their Influence in Algieria during the Ottoman Era", in Arabic); p. 33

209. Jean Chevalier, "*al-tasawwuf wal mutasawiffa*" (Le soufisme or, L'ivresse de Dieu dans la tradition de l'islam [Sufism or The intoxication of God in the tradition of Islam]; 1974, in Arabic), translated by 'Abd al-Qadir Qanini; Dar Afriqiyya al-Sharq; Beirut; 1999 edition; p. 71

210. *Rabita*, derivative of *al-Ribat*: this is a derivative of the Arabic word "*rabata*", which means literally to tie or bond. The second Sufi institution (after *zawaya*) is known as *al-ribat* or *rebat*, and sometimes *rabita.* Refer back to footnote 7 for more on this subject.

211. Jean Chevalier, "*al-tasawwuf wal mutasawiffa*" ("*al-tasawwuf wal mutasawiffa*" (Le soufisme or, L'ivresse de Dieu dans la tradition de l'islam [Sufism or The intoxication of God in the tradition of Islam]; 1974, in Arabic); p. 71

212. Ibid; pp. 71-72

213. 'Abd al-Qadir al-Shati, "*haqiqat al-salafiyya al-wafiyya madhab ahl al-haqq al-sufiyya*" (lit., "The Faithful Salafi Truth is the Doctrine of the Sufis of the Truth", in Arabic); Matba'at Dar Homa, Algiers; 2002 Edition; pp. 333-334

214. J. Spencer Trimingham, "*al-turuq al-sufiyya fil islam*" ("The Sufi

Orders in Islam“) (in Arabic); p. 37

215. Fillali Mukhtar al-Taher, “*nash’at al-murabiteen wal turuq al-sufiyya wa athrihuma fi al-jaza’ir khilal al-‘ahd al-‘uthmani*” (lit., “The Emergence of the Murabitin and the Sufi Orders and their Influence in Algieria during the Ottoman Era”, in Arabic); p. 33; also, of the important works that focus on the successions of Sufi sheikhs and scholars is “al-*risaalatul al-qushayri”* (“The Epistle on Sufism”) by Abu ‘l Qasim al-Qushayri and “*sifat al-safwa*” (lit., “The Manners (lAttributes) of the Elite (the Pure)” by Ibn al-Jawzi

216. Fillali Mukhtar al-Taher, “*nash’at al-murabiteen wal turuq al-sufiyya wa athrihuma fi al-jaza’ir khilal al-‘ahd al-‘uthmani*” (lit., “The Emergence of the Murabitin and the Sufi Orders and their Influence in Algieria during the Ottoman Era”, in Arabic); p. 34

217. See footnote 7

218. ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Shati, “*haqiqat al-salafiyya al-wafiyya madhab ahl al-haqq al-sufiyya*” (lit., “The Faithful Salafi Truth is the Doctrine of the Sufis of the Truth”, in Arabic); p. 310

219. Jean Chevalier, “*al-tasawwuf wal mutasawiffa*” “*al-tasawwuf wal mutasawiffa*” (Le soufisme or, L’ivresse de Dieu dans la tradition de l’islam [Sufism or The intoxication of God in the tradition of Islam]; 1974, in Arabic); p. 73

220. Fillali Mukhtar al-Taher, “*nash’at al-murabiteen wal turuq al-sufiyya wa athrihuma fi al-jaza’ir khilal al-‘ahd al-‘uthmani*” (lit., “The Emergence of the Murabitin and the Sufi Orders and their Influence in Algieria during the Ottoman Era”, in Arabic); p. 33

221. Jean Chevalier, “*al-tasawwuf wal mutasawiffa*” “*al-tasawwuf wal mutasawiffa*” (Le soufisme or, L’ivresse de Dieu dans la tradition de l’islam [Sufism or The intoxication of God in the tradition of Islam]; 1974, in Arabic), translated by ‘Abd al-Qadir Qanini; Dar Afriqiyya al-Sharq; Beirut; 1999 edition; p. 71

222. Ibid; p. 71

223. The references used to identify Sufi orders and the extent of their

presence include, ‘Abd al-Aziz Bin ‘Abd Allah, “*ma’amalat al tasawwuf al-islami*” (lit., “The Processes of Islamic Sufism”, in Arabic); Dar Nashr al-Ma’rifa, Al-Ribat; First edition; 2001; pp. 203, 205-223; and Muhammad Bin al-Tayyeb; “*islam al-mutasawwifa*” (lit., “Sufi Islam”, in Arabic); pp. 99-21; both references indicated in this footnote cite the collective manuscript, “turuq al-llah” (lit., “God’s Ways or Orders”): also refer to, “I`lsam d`origine a`aujoured`hui les voies d` Allah: les ordres mystiques dans sous la directionde”; A.Popovic et G. Veinstein, Paris, 1996.

224. Hanbali School of Islamic jurisprudence; refer back to footnote 201

225. The Mashreq, also transcribed as Mashriq or Mashrek, is generally speaking the region including Arabian countries to the east of Egypt and north of the Arabian Peninsula. It is derived from the Arabic consonantal root *sh-r-q* relating to the east, or the sunrise, and essentially means “east” (most literally or poetically, “place of sunrise”). It refers to a large area in the Middle East, bounded between the Mediterranean Sea and Iran. It is therefore the companion term to *Maghreb*, meaning “west” (a reference to the Arabic-speaking countries in the west of North Africa; including Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya). Egypt occupies an ambiguous position: while it has cultural, ethnic and linguistic ties to both the Mashreq and the Maghreb, it is unique and different from both. Thus, it is usually seen as being part of neither; however, when it is grouped with one or the other, it is generally considered part of the Mashreq on account of its closer ties to the Levant (Egypt and the Levant were often ruled as a single unit, as under the Ancient Egyptian New Kingdom, the Umayyad Caliphate, Abbasid Caliphate, the Fatimid Caliphate, the Ayyubid dynasty, the Mamluks, and for a time under Muhammad Ali Pasha) and on account of the similarities between the Egyptian and near-Levantine dialects. These geographical terms date from the early Islamic conquests. [Reference: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mashriq] [Translator’s note]

226. Maghreb or Arab Maghreb; refer to previous footnote

227. The Maliki School of Islamic jurisprudence is the second of the Islamic schools of jurisprudence. The sources of the Maliki doctrine are the Qur›an, the Prophet›s traditions (*hadith*), consensus (*ijma’*), and analogy (*qiyyas*). The Malikis’ concept of *ijma’* differs from that of the Hanafis in that they understand it to mean the consensus of the community represented by the people of al-Medina. Over time, however,

the school came to understand consensus to be that of the scholars of law, known as *'ulema*. Imam Malik's major contribution to Islamic law is his book "*al-muwatta*" or "The Beaten Path", which is a code of law based on the legal practices that were operating in al-Medina. It covers various areas ranging from prescribed rituals of prayer and fasting to the correct conduct of business relations. The Malikiyya School of jurisprudence was founded by Malik ibn Anas (c.713-c.795), a legal expert in the city of al-Medina. Such was his stature that it is said three 'Abbasid caliphs visited him while they were on Pilgrimage to Medina. Today Malikite doctrine and practice remains widespread throughout North Africa, the Sudan and regions of West and Central Africa. http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/islam/sunni/malik.html [Translators note]

228. Ibn Sab›in (Muhammad ibn ‹Abd al-Haqq) is well known in Islamic philosophy for presenting perhaps the most radical form of Sufism. He argued that everything is really just one thing, part of the deity, and that breaking up reality into different units is to deny the nature of creation. He was hostile as a result to the attempts of the philosophers who were inspired by Aristotle to develop logic as a means to understand reality. The best way to attain the truth, for Ibn Sab'in is the mystical path, and this is achieved by appreciating the unity of everything, not by analysing reality into separable concepts. [Reference: http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/rep/H033.htm] [Translator's note]

229. Meaning: based in the Hanafi madhab or doctrine; with the Hanafiyya (Hanafi) school being considered the first of the four Sunni schools of law or Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). It is distinguished from the other schools by placing less reliance on mass oral traditions as a source of legal knowledge. It developed the exegesis of the Qur'an through a method of analogical reasoning known as *qiyyas*.It also established the principle that the universal concurrence of the *umma* (community) of Islam on a point of law, as represented by legal and religious scholars, constituted evidence of the will of God. This process is called *ijma'*, which means the consensus of the scholars or *'ulema*. Thus, the school definitively established the Qur'an, the Traditions of the Prophet, *ijma'* and *qiyyas* as the basis of Islamic law. The Hanafi School of law was founded by Nu'man Abu Hanifah (d. 767) in Kufa in Iraq. The privileged position which the school enjoyed under the 'Abbasid caliphate was lost with the decline of the 'Abbasid caliphate. However, the rise of the Ottoman Empire led to the revival of Hanafi fortunes. Under the Ottomans, judgment-seats were occupied by Hanafites sent from Istanbul, even in countries where

the population followed another *madhhab*. Consequently, the Hanafi *madhhab* became the only authoritative code of law in the public life and official administration of justice in all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Even today, the Hanafi code prevails in the former Ottoman countries. It is also dominant in Central Asia and India. [*Reference:http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/islam/sunni/hanb.html*] [Translators note]

230. For more on this smaller school and doctrine, review "The School of Sidi Muhammad Ibn Wafa (d. 765/1363)" on the following link: http://www.dar-sirr.com/Ibn-Wafa.html

231. Greater Syria is a term used by historians and others to designate the region that includes approximately the present-day states of Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon and Syria before those states were formed [Reference: Library of Congress, Country Studies found on the following link: http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/syria/sy_glos.html] [Translator's note]

232. *Kubra*: an Arabic word that is an adjective in the feminine mode; with the superlative of *kabir* meaning "great' in Arabic, with the corresponding masculine form being "*akbar*" [Reference: Martin van Bruinessen, "Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiyya Influence in Early Indonesian Islam", Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 150 (1994), 305-329; found on the following link: http://www.let.uu.nl/~martin.vanbruinessen/personal/publications/Jumadil_Kubral.htm [Translator's note]

233. The English text used in this paragraph to explain the origins of the name "al-Kubra" was taken from, Martin van Bruinessen, «Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiyya influence in early Indonesian Islam»; previous reference [Translator's note]

234. For an explanation of the "*mehdi al-muntather*" refer to the following excellent reference, explaining the Awaited Mehdi in terms of the difference between the Mehdi and the Messiah; and which provides an overview on the different Sunni and Shiite references on this subject: http://www.al-islam.org/encyclopedia/chapter2/2.html

235. The School of Khurasan: From its early home in Basra and also to

a certain degree in Kufa, Sufism spread to two main centers, Khurasan and Baghdad, each of which became the home of a school known by the name of that locality. The school of Khurasan, whose members al-Junayd called the "people of the heart", was known especially for its emphasis upon poverty and indifference towards the opinion of the public, even to the extent of inviting their blame (*malama*) and accusation. The school of the Malamatiyya (or Mulamati), that is the people who invited blame upon themselves, associated with Hamdun al-Qassar, arose in Khurasan with most of its later development there. The founder of the school of Khurasan was one of the earliest of Sufis, Ibrahim Bin Adham (165 AH/782 AD) [Reference: "The Cambridge History of Iran: The Period from the Arab invasion to the Saljuqs", By Richard Nelson Frye; Cambridge University Press; 1975; 1999; p. 450; found on the following link: http://books.google.com/books?id=hvx9jq_2L3EC&pg=PA451&lpg=PA451&dq=Khurasani+school+of+sufism&source=bl&ots=FbDRUTF7Dy&sig=JD7I1mmET1jRXV9b07LuS_jrKMA&hl=en&ei=NXvfTsCJL8ypsgbpk7j1CA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CC4Q6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=Khurasani%20school%20of%20sufism&f=false] [Translator's note]

236. Refer back to the previous footnote and page 30 for the author's overview on the Mulamati [Translator's note]

237. With regard to spiritual transmission, Abu Bakr al-Siddiq was the first person to give instruction in the method of reciting the sacred *kalima* or "word" (*la ilaha ill-allah or "There is no God but God"*) for purifying the heart by *dhikr* [remembrance of God] and that is still recited by the Naqshbandi Order today [Reference: "Abu Bakr al-Siddiq"; http://www.naqshbandi.org/chain/2.htm] [Translator's note] – see footnote 239 for a reference and detailed explanation on the methods of *dhikr* espoused and embraced by the Naqshbandi Order] [Translator's note]

238. In Islam, Abu Bakr al-Siddiq**,** also referred to as `Atiq ibn Abi Quhafa, *Sheikh al-Islam*, `Abd Allah ibn `Uthman ibn `Amir al-Qurashi al-Taymi (d. 13 AH), was the first caliph and the Prophet's intimate friend and exclusive companion at the Prophet's Basin *(hawd)* and in the Cave. He is considered the Prophet's greatest supporter, closest confidant, first spiritual inheritor and first of the men who believed in him, and the only one who did so unhesitatingly. He is first of the Prophet's four Rightly-Guided Successors (caliphs), first of the ten promised Paradise, and first of the Prophet's Community to enter Paradise. [Reference:

Main sources: Al-Nawawi, "*tahdhib al-asma' wa al-lughat*" 2:181-182; Abu Nu`aym, "*hilya al-awliya'*" 1:62-72 #1; al-Dhahabi, "*siyar a`lam al-nubala'*" 1-2:467-508 #2; found on the following link: http://sunnah.org/publication/khulafa_rashideen/caliph1.htm.] [Translator's note]
In the "Epistle on Sufism", the al-Qushayri glossary defines *al-Siddiq* as the "one who is truthful and trustworthy" – an advanced Sufi master; also, an epithet of the first caliph Abu Bakr [al-Siddiq]. [Reference: "Epistle on Sufism" translated by Professor Alexander D. Knysh; reviewed by Dr Muhammad Eissa; p. 424] [Translator's note]

239. Also known by the order as "Essential Remembrance" or «*yad kard*", with the meaning of '*kard*' explained as the essence of *dhikr*; this is explained as follows by the order: "The seeker must make *dhikr* by negation and affirmation [there is no God but God] on his tongue until he reaches the state of the contemplation of his heart *(muraqaba)*. The other form of *dhikr* being "Recollection" or "*yada dasht*", which means, "the reciter of *dhikr* safeguards his heart with negation and affirmation [there is no God but God] in every breath without leaving the Presence of God Almighty and Exalted. It requires the seeker to keep his heart in God's Divine Presence continuously. This allows the seeker to realize and manifest the Light of the Unique Essence *or "anwar adh-dhat al-ahadiyya"* of God. He then casts away three of the four different forms of thoughts: the egoistic thoughts, the evil thoughts and the angelic thoughts, keeping and affirming solely the fourth form of thought: the *haqqani* or truthful thoughts. This will lead the seeker to the highest state of perfection by discarding all his imaginings and embracing only the Reality which is the Oneness of God, Almighty and Exalted. [on these notes and for a detailed explanation on the specific methodology of *dhikr* espoused and embraced by the Naqshbandi Order; refer to the following link: http://www.naqshbandi.org/chain/11.htm] [Translator's note]

240. For the Naqshbandi Order, this is defined as follows: "Solitude in the Crowd or «*khalwat dar anjuman*", where "*khalwat*" means seclusion. It means to be outwardly with people while remaining inwardly with God. There are also two categories of seclusion. The first is external seclusion and the second is internal seclusion. [Reference: http://www.naqshbandi.org/chain/11.htm] [Translator's note]

241. For more on Khwaja Ubaidallah Ahrar refer to, "Extracts from

Masters of Wisdom of Central Asia", by Hassan Shushud, translated from Turkish By Muhtar Holland"; found on the following link: http://homepage.ntlworld.com/buryali/Khwaja%20Ubaidallah%20Ahrar.pdf [Translator's note]

242. In one argument, the use of the term "*sama'*" is considered to suggest physically "listening" in a spiritual context. A differing opinion argues that "*sama'*" is in fact "hearing", as "to hear" can pertain to any sound in addition to any "subtle" sounds of the spiritual realm. [Reference: During, J.; Sellheim, R.; "Sama"; "Encyclopedia of Islam"; Second edition, edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis; C.E. Bosworth; E. van Donzel; and W.P. Heinrichs; Brill, 2009; Brill Online. Augustana; 21 Sept. 2009; Sama; http://www.brillonline.nl] [Translator's note]

243. "*Mawlana*" is a form of address given a ruler or person of authority implying protector or master, often in the religious sense. [Reference: http://www.islamic-dictionary.com/index.php?word=mawlana] Also, "*awliya'*", the term often used by Sufis to indicate a Sufi "elder" (often referred to by orientalists as "saint"), is a derivative of the same root word from which *mawlana* is also derived.

244. Al-Azhar Mosque and University were built in Egypt during the Fatimid Dynasty and are named in honor of Fatima Az-Zahraa, the daughter of Muhammad, from whom the Fatimid Dynasty claimed descent. The al-Azhar Mosque was built in two years beginning in 971 AD. The school of theology (*madrassa*) connected with it was founded in 988 AD as an Ismaili Shi'a school, but it later became a Sunni school, which it remains to this day. It claims to be the oldest Islamic university in the world, but this is disputed by the Kairaouine Mosque in Fes, Morocco. Al-Azhar is considered by most Sunni Muslims to be the most prestigious school of Islamic law, and its scholars are seen as the highest scholars in the Muslim world. Its stated objectives remain the propagation of Islamic culture and the Arabic language. To that end, it maintains a committee of *ulemas* to judge on individual Islamic questions, a printing establishment for printing the Qur'an, and trains preachers in the *da'wa* and the propagation of religious publicity. Al-Azhar is run by a Supreme Council that establishes general policy, headed by a Grand Imam, called Sheikh Al-Azhar. [Reference: "Al-Azhar Mosque and University, Cairo" found on the following link: http://www.sacred-destinations.com/egypt/cairo-al-azhar-university] [Translator's note]

245. Hanafi; refer back to footnote 229

246. *Ijtihad*; refer back to footnote 16

247. 'Umar Tal, also called al-Hajj, founded what is sometimes called the Tukulor (or Toucouleur) Empire of the Senegambia region. The "Umarian" state al-Hajj Umar had forged by 1860, although short-lived, was one of the largest ever seen in West Africa. His legacy of resistance to French colonial conquest has inspired West Africans from all walks of life to the present time. [For more on this refer to the following references, "The Cambridge History of Africa", By Roland Oliver, John Donnelly Fage, G. N. Sanderson; and: http://berclo.net/page99/99en-afr-notes.html; [Reference: http://tijani.org/al-hajj-umar-al-futi-tal/]; and, also see: David Robinson, "The Holy War of Umar Tal: the Western Sudan in the mid-nineteenth century"; Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1985. 420 pages] [Translator's note]

248. Refer back to footnote 18

249. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011

250. *Surat al-'Anbya'*, "The Prophets"; 21:71; version: al-Sahih International; found on the following link: http://quran.com/21 [Translator's note]

251. *Surat al-'Anbya'*; "The Prophets"; 21:81; version: al-Sahih International; found on the following link: http://quran.com/21 [Translator's note]

252. *Surat al-'Isra'*; "The Night Journey" 17:1; version: al-Sahih International; found on the following link: http://quran.com/17 [Translator's note]

253. Refer to Dr. Muhammad Ahmad al-Rawashdeh, "*al-halle al-diniya fil urdun: al-sufiyya al-numuthujiyya*" (lit., "The Religious Context of Jordan: Looking Towards the Sufi Paradigm", in Arabic); found on the following link: http://www.wasatyea.net/ConferencePrint.aspx?ConferenceID=26

254. For more details on the roots and origins of Sufism in Jordan, refer

to Dr. Ayman Ibrahim Hassan al-Sharida, “*al-fikr al-sufi fil urdun: dirasa fi al-tarikh al-ijtima’ai al-dini*” (lit., “Sufi Thought in Jordan: A Study on the Socio-Religious History of Jordan”, in Arabic); part of a series on the history of the East Bank; 2010

255. A *mufti* is a scholarly rank a Muslim jurist reaches through study and certification, which enables them to look into Islamic positive law and draw relevant rulings for a current situation. Throughout history, the ruling class would choose from amongst this distinguished class of scholars a Grand Mufti to oversee an official body that helps disseminate *fatwas* in an organized and mass manner

256. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Muhammad Amin al-Kilani on June 15, 2011

257. *Sharif* or [*shah-reef*] is a male-given name from the Arabic word meaning “exalted” or “noble”; a title given to a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) through his daughter Fatima; or an honorific title accorded to a Muslim ruler. [Reference: Collins English Dictionary - Complete & Unabridged 10th Edition; 2009; William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd. 1979, 1986; HarperCollins Publishers] [Translator’s note]

258. *Zawya* (singular) or *zawaya* (plural); refer back to footnote 7

259. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ayesh al-Hawyan on May 29, 2011

260. *Nakba* is the Arabic word for ‘catastrophe’ used to describe the events of 1948 and before, when over 700,000 Palestinians were expelled from their homelands.

261. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Husni al-Sharif on June 2, 2011

262. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh on June 6, 2011

263. Refer to Muhammad Najah al-Nubani, “*Muhammad Sa’id al-Kurdi*”; Dar al-Minhaj; Amman; 1997

264. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi on June

12, 2011

265. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Nasser Al-Din al-Khatib on May 31, 2011

266. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Muhammad ‘Abd al-Halim al-Qadiri on June 8, 2011

267. The term “Habashies” literally means Ethiopians, or Abyssinians; it is a term used to describe groups and clusters of individuals who have a presence in numerous Arab and Islamic states as well as Arab communities in the West. The Habashies are followers of Sheikh Abd’ Allah al-Habashi, who hails from Ethiopia (or *Habasha* in Arabic). And, his followers believe he is one of the most important scholars amongst the world’s leading Islamic scholars. Sheikh Habashi currently resides in Beirut. He and his followers are the declared followers of the al-Ash’ari-Shafi’i *madhab* and claim they are Sufists. (For more on the Habashies in Jordan, refer to “Conservative Secularism: The Jordanian Approach to Managing the Relationship between the State and Religion”, by Muhammad Abu Rumman, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Amman Office; 2010) [Translator’s note]

268. *Jamaa’ah* or *jamaa’at;* ‘*tabligh*’ and ‘*da’wa*’; refer back to footnote 12

269. From the Shadhili-Darqawi-Hashimi facebook page on the following link: http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=211953578844863&comments; also refer to: http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%85%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%AF_%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%B4%D9%85%D9%8A_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A

270. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi on June 12, 2011. In another interview conducted on June 12, 2011, Sheikh Ahmad al-Radaydeh claims that Sheikh Hashimi did not leave behind any sheikhs except for Muhammad Sa’id al-Burhami; and, that the latter only lived for one year after al-Hashimi, and that al-Burhami died without recommending a successor to him for the order.

271. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Mustafa Abu Rumman

on June 3, 2011

272. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh on June 6, 2011, who also claims that Sheikh Halabi actually died in Amman and not Turkey; also refer to the following link: http://www.rayaheen.net/trajem.php?cat=abdulqader

273. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh on June 6, 2011

274. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011

275. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh on June 6, 2011

276. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi on June 12, 2011

277. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Mustafa Abu Rumman on June 3, 2011

278. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi on June 12, 2011

279. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011

280. Refer to the book "*Muhammad Sa'id al-Kurdi*" (in Arabic), written by Najah al-Lubani, Dar al-Manahij, Amman; 1997; also refer to the Sheikh Kurdi facebook page found on the following link: http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=127850867256291&v=info

281. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi on June 12, 2011

282. Ibid.

283. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi on June 12, 2011

284. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Aoun al-Qaddoumi on

May 23, 2011

285. Ibid.

286. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi on June 12, 2011

287. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011

288. From an interview conducted with Sheikh ‘Umar Tareq on May 22, 2011

289. Refer back to footnote 86

290. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Mustafa Abu Rumman on June 3, 2011

291. Refer to the book, “*al-shaghouri: sha’ir al-tasawwuf fi al-qarn al-‘ishrin*” (lit., “Al-Shaghouri: Sufi Poet of the 20th century”), by Radwan Bin al-Sheikh Muhammad Sa’id Ayzouli al-Kurdi; published in Amman; 2002; p. 349

292. For more on the “Common Word” initiative refer to the following link: http://www.acommonword.com/index.php?lang=en&page=option1 [Translator’s note]

293. Refer to the following link: http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%86%D9%88%D8%AD_%D9%83%D9%84%D8%B1 [or, in English refer to: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nuh_Ha_Mim_Keller (Translator’s note)]

294. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011
295. For more details on this initiative refer to: http://qibla.com/intensive/ [Translator’s note]

296. Shafi’i is the third school of Islamic jurisprudence. According to the Shafi’i school the paramount sources of legal authority are the Qur›an and the Sunna. Of less authority are the *ijma’* (consensus) of the community and thought of scholars (*ijitihad*) exercised through *qiyas*. The scholar must interpret the ambiguous passages of the Qur’an according to the

consensus of the Muslims, and, if there is no consensus, according to *qiyas*. The Shafi'i school of Islamic law was named after Muhammad Ibn Idris al-Shafi'i (767-819), who belonged originally to the school of al-Medina and was a pupil of Malik ibn Anas (d. 795), the founder of the Maliki *madhab*. However, he came to believe in the overriding authority of the traditions from the Prophet and identified them with the Sunna. Baghdad and Cairo were considered the chief centers of the Shafi'I *madhab*; and, it was from these two cities that Shafi'i's teachings spread into various parts of the Islamic world. In the tenth century, Mecca and Medina came to be regarded as the school's chief centres outside of Egypt. In the centuries preceding the emergence of the Ottoman Empire, the Shafi'is had acquired supremacy in the central lands of Islam. It was only under the Ottoman sultans, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that the Shafi'i were replaced by the Hanafites, who were given judicial authority in Constantinople, while Central Asia passed to the Shi'a as a result of the rise of the Safavids in 1501. [Reference:http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/islam/sunni/shaf.html] [Translator's note]

297. From an interview conducted with the person of Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi on June 12, 2011; also refer to "*al-shaghouri: sha'ir al-tasawwuf fi al-qarn al-'ishrin*" (lit., "Al-Shaghouri: Sufi Poet of the 20th century"), written by Radwan Bin al-Sheikh Muhammad Sa'id Ayzouli al-Kurdi; pp. 353-354

298. Refer to the Ajloun Press Agency; found on the following link: http://www.ajlounnews.net/index.php?module=articles&id=212&category=83

299. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi on June 12, 2011

300. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Mustafa Abu Rumman on June 3, 2011

301. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011

302. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ismail al-Kurdi on June 12, 2011

303. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Mustafa Abu Rumman

on June 3, 2011

304. Refer to "'*ilam fi al-turath al-sufi min al-bayt al-nabi sala allah 'alayhi wa salam*" (lit., "Knowledge in the Sufi Tradition from the House of the Prophet (PBUH)", by Hajj Ahmad Hassan Shehadeh Radaydeh; Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, Beirut and Dar al-Kitab al-Thaqafi, Irbid; 2005; p. 361. Also, in an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh conducted on May 31, 2011, he claims that Filali actually met Sheikh 'Alawi in al-Medina al-Minawara.

305. Hajj Ahmad Hassan Shehadeh Radaydeh, '*ilam fi al-turath al-sufi min al-bayt al-nabi sala allah 'alayhi wa salam*" (lit., "Knowledge in the Sufi tradition from the House of the Prophet (PBUH)"; 2005; p. 361

306. Ibid; p. 361

307. Ibid; pp. 265-280

308. Ibid; on the same subject; however, as a note, in an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh, he claims that Sheikh Filali came to Jordan in 1948 and established his *zawya* in Amman in 1954.

309. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ahmad al-Radaydeh on June 12, 2011; and according to Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh, this *zawya* was moved to Marka in 1974, then to the Jendawil area of Amman in 2005.

310. This is according to Sheikh Radaydeh; however, Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh chronicles the year as being 1965

311. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh on May 31, 2011

312. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011

313. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh on May 31, 2011

314. Hajj Ahmad Hassan Shehadeh Radaydeh, '*ilam fi al-turath al-sufi*

min al-bayt al-nabi sala allah 'alayhi wa salam" (lit., "Knowledge in the Sufi tradition from the House of the Prophet (PBUH)"; 2005; p. 280

315. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011

316. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ahmad al-Radaydeh on June 12, 2011; also refer to Hajj Ahmad Hassan Shehadeh Radaydeh, '*ilam fi al-turath al-sufi min al-bayt al-nabi sala allah 'alayhi wa salam*" (lit., "Knowledge in the Sufi tradition from the House of the Prophet (PBUH)"; 2005; pp. 584-585

317. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Hamad Othman Abu 'Awad on May 30, 2011

318. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011

319. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh on May 31, 2011 and an interview conducted with Sheikh Hamad Othman Abu 'Awad on May 30, 2011; also refer to the book, "*risala fi asrar*" (lit., "Treatise on Mysteries [Secrets]"), by Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir Ali al-Sheikh; 1998; 7th Edition, p. 43

320. This mosque is famed for having hosted one of the first and greatest universities in the history of Islam. Built as a mosque in the 8th century, Zaytuna was enlarged by the Aghlabids in 864 and continues to serve as a school-mosque. It houses a huge library that in the 14th century was administered by the Malikite theologian Muhammad Ibn 'Arafa. Although at first traditional, teaching at Zaytuna was gradually modernized. The last reform came in 1933, at the hands of its students. Upon Tunisia's independence the Zaytuna became the *shari'a* (Islamic law) school of the University of Tunis. [Reference: Aida A. Bamia and the "Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa", by the Gale Group, Inc; found on the following link: http://www.answers.com/topic/zaytuna-university] [Translator's note]

321. From an article-interview entitled: "*madinat 'akka... mawqi'I al-hadara wal tarikh*" (lit., "The City of Acre: A Pillar in Civilization and History") (in Arabic); found on the following link: http://www.thaqafa.org/Main/default.aspx?_ContentType=ART&_ContentID=a065625b-9a67-

4c9e-aaf4-12520716743b

322. The Bahá'i Faith refers to a religion founded in Iran in the mid-19th century AD by Mirza Hoseyn 'Ali Nuri, who is known as Bahá'u'lláh (Arabic: "Glory of God"). The cornerstone of the Bahá'i Faith is the conviction that Bahá'u'lláh and his forerunner, who was known as the Bab, were manifestations of God, who in his essence is unknowable. The principal Bahá'i tenets are the essential unity of all religions and the unity of humanity. Bahá'is believe that all the founders of the world's great religions have been manifestations of God and agents of a progressive divine plan for the education of the human race. Despite their apparent differences, the world's great religions, according to the Bahá'is, teach an identical truth. Bahá'u'lláh's peculiar function was to overcome the disunity of religions and establish a universal faith. Bahá'is believe in the oneness of humanity and devote themselves to the abolition of racial, class and religious prejudices. The great bulk of Bahá'i teachings is concerned with social ethics; the faith has no priesthood and does not observe ritual forms in its worship. [From the website: Modern Religious Processed in the Omsk Region; Brief Introduction to Bahaism; found on the following link: http://www.ic.omskreg.ru/religion/eng/islam/kult/bahaism.htm] [Translator's note]

323. In an interview conducted with Sheikh and Dr 'Abd al-Jalil 'Abd al-Rahim al-Yashruti on June 4, 2011, he says, "The British were the ones who banished him to Rhodes, and where he continued to establish *zawaya*, filling the island with them"

324. From the book, "*masiriti fi tariq al-haqq*" (lit., "My Voyage on the Path of Truth") (in Arabic), by Fatima al-Yashruti; p. 218; found on the following link: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:JTHutLKwOLQJ:homepages.tscnet.com/omard1/alg1.htm+%D9%86%D9%88%D8%B1+%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%8A%D9%86+%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%B4%D8%B1%D8%B7%D9%8A+%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%AF%D8%B3&cd=3&hl=ar&ct=clnk&gl=jo&source=www.google.jo; also refer to an article entitled, "*al-sheikh ali al-yashruti: al-sufi al-mujadid*" ("Sheikh Ali al-Yashruti: The Revivalist Sufi", in Arabic), by Dr Wafa' al-Sawafta, found on the following link: www.yashruti.blogspot.com. Also, important to note: Dr Sawafta presented his doctorate thesis at the Lebanese University in Beirut, which is entitled, "*al-madrassa al-shadhiliyya al-yashrutiyya wa sheikhaha al-sheikh ali nur al-din al-yashruti*" ("The Shadhili-Yashruti School and its Sheikh, Sheikh

Ali Nur al-Din al-Yashruti", in Arabic)

325. From an article-interview, entitled, "*madinat 'akka... mawqi'l al-hadara wal tarikh*" (lit., "The City of Acre: A Pillar in Civilization and History", in Arabic); found on the following link: http://www.thaqafa.org/Main/default.aspx?_ContentType=ART&_ContentID=a065625b-9a67-4c9e-aaf4-12520716743b

326. From the Shadhili-Yashruti Order's website; www.shathli-yashruti.webs.com

327. Ibid.

328. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Mustafa Abu Rumman on June 3, 2011

329. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Mustafa Abu Rumman on June 3, 2011 and from an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011

330. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Abd al-Jalil 'Abd al-Rahim on June 4, 2011

331. Refer to the following link (in Arabic): http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%82%D8%A9_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%BA%D8%B8%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%A9

332. Refer to the study entitled, *"bayn al-tasawuff wal salafiyya fi bilad shanqit lil hadi bin muhammad al-mukhtar al-nahawi*" ("Between the Sufism and Salafism of Bilad Shanqit Al-Hadi Bin Muhammad al-Mukhtar Al-Nahawi", in Arabic); found on the following link: http://www.emjad.net/article2149.html

333. Refer to the following link: http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%82%D8%A9_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%BA%D8%B8%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%A9

334. Refer to the article from the online magazine "*El Khebar*" entitled, "*mauritania wa'ashi'a'iha al-fikri wal rawhi dimin al-fada'iyain al-ifriqi wal 'arabi*" (lit., "Mauritania and its Intellectual and Spiritual Enlightenment between its African and Arab frontiers", in Arabic), by Muhammad Amin

Walid al-Kitab; found on the following link: http://www.elkhebar.info/news.php?action=view&id=431

335. Ibid.

336. From an interview conducted with Sheikh ‘Ayesh al-Hawyan on May 29, 2011. Sheikh Hawyan was born in 1929 in Amman and is one of the followers of the Ghudhufi Order in Jordan

337. Refer to the article from the online magazine “*El Khebar*” entitled, “*mauritania wa’ashi’a’iha al-fikri wal rawhi dimin al-fada’iyain al-ifriqi wal ‘arabi*”(lit., “Mauritania and its Intellectual and Spiritual Enlightenment between its African and Arab frontiers”, in Arabic), by Muhammad Amin Walid al-Kitab; found on the following link: http://www.elkhebar.info/news.php?action=view&id=431

338. From an interview conducted with Sheikh ‘Ayesh al-Hawyan on May 29, 2011

339. Ibid.

340. Ibid.

341. Wahhabism is aims at the calling (*da‘wa*) of people to restore the “real” meaning of *tawhid* (oneness of God or monotheism) and to disregard and deconstruct traditional disciplines and practices that evolved throughout Islamic history such as theology, jurisprudence and the traditions of visiting tombs and shrines of venerated individuals. Such disciplines and practices are classified as *shirk* (polytheism), *kufr* (unbelief in God), *ridda* (apostasy) and *bida‘a* (innovations). Its founder, Muhammad Bin Abdel Wahhab (1703-1792), forced his followers to adhere to a very strict and literal interpretation of monotheism and to fight polytheism (*shirk)*. His followers, who call themselves *al-muwahhidin* or the monotheists, are labeled by others as “Wahhabis”. While *tawhid* is the core concept of Islam, Abdel Wahhab argues that the recognition of a unique creator without a partner is insufficient for correct belief and must be joined with ‘pure’ Islamic behavior. [Reference: “Wahhabism, Salafism and Islamism: Who is the Enemy?” by Professor Ahmad Moussalli, American University of Beirut, Conflicts Forum: Beirut-London-Washington, January 2009] [Translator’s note]

342. From an interview conducted with Sheikh ‘Ayesh al-Hawyan on

May 29, 2011

343. Refer back to footnote 227

344. Refer to the following link: http://www.beatnabala.com/vb/showthread.php?t=15321

345. Ibid.

346. For more details on al-Sayadi and his controversial personality refer to Butros Abu Manih, "*al-sultan 'abd al-hamid II wa sheikh abu al-huda al-sayadi*" (lit., "Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II and Sheikh Abu al-Huda al-Sayadi"); translated by Dr Anis 'Abd al-Khaliq Mahmud al-Qaisi; found on the following link: http://www.dahsha.com/old/viewarticle.php?id=33964

347. From an interview conducted with the son of Sheikh Muhammad 'Abd al-Hafez al-Tahrawi on June 8, 2011

348. Refer to the section relating to this account in the book, "*tarikh al-'ulema gaghdad fi al-qarn al-rab'i 'ashar al-hijri*" (lit., "The History of the Scholars of Baghdad in the 14th Century AH"), by Younes Ibrahim al-Samara'i; published by the Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs, Jordan; 1402 AH; 1982 AD

349. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Umar al-Sarafandi on May 28, 2011

350. From an interview conducted with the son of Sheikh Muhammad 'Abd al-Hafez al-Tahrawi on June 8, 2011

351. Ibid.

352. From an interview conducted with the person of Sheikh 'Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011

353. From an interview conducted with the son of Sheikh Muhammad 'Abd al-Hafez al-Tahrawi on June 8, 2011

354. Refer to the Rifa'i Order website and forum on Imam Rawas on this

site; found on the following link: http://alrfa3ea.4umer.com/t402-topic

355. The Attazkia website, which is supervised by Sheikh Mu'ath al-Hawa; found on the following link: http://attazkia.com/Portals/Content/?info=TkRVbVVHRm5aU1l4K3U=.plx

356. Ibid; Also, the meaning of *tazkiyya* in Islam involves having the correct motivations and intentions (an inherent part of *ihsan [refer to footnotes 3 and 356*], which means purifying the soul of hypocrisy, caprice, heedlessness and everything else that keeps the servant from serving God for His sake alone; this purification of the soul is called *tazkiyya*. [*Reference: http://www.muhajabah.com/tazkiyyah.htm*] [Translator's note]

357. Refer back to footnote 12

358. From two interviews conducted with Sheikh Nasser al-Din al-Khatib that took place on May 31 and June 1, 2011; also refer to the website of the Assamael Audiovisual Investment Company (also available in English), on the following link: http://assamael.com/customers.php

359. Hanbali School of Islamic jurisprudence; refer back to footnote 201

360. Refer to the Higher Qadiri Order website; found on the following link: http://www.alkadria.com/html

361. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Muhammad 'Abd al-Halim al-Qadiri on June 8, 2011

362. This book was published in Amman in 2010; it does not reference any specific publishing house or publisher.

363. The oral tradition (of the Qur'an) embraces ten distinct systems of recitation or, as they are generally called amongst scholars, "Readings" or "*qiraa'aat*", each tranmitted by a "school" of Qur'an-readers, deriving its authority from a prominent reader of the second or early third century of the Islamic era. The slight variation amongst the Ten Readings is attributable to the dialectal variation in the original Revelation. It should be emphasized that all of these Readings were transmitted orally from the Prophet (PBUH) [Reference: Labib as-Said, "The Recited Koran: A History of the First Recorded Version", translated by B. Weis, M. Rauf

and M. Berger, Princeton, New Jersey; the Darwin Press; 1975; p. 53; referenced by Samuel Green in “The Origin of the Variant Readings of the Qur’an”; found on the following link: http://www.answeringislam.org/Green/originof.htm] [Translator’s note]

364. An area that lies on the outskirts of the city of Suleimaniya, and means “the black mountain” in Kurdish

365. Refer to the website of the Higher Kasnazani-Qadiri Order (in Arabic) found on the following link: http://www.kasnazan.com

366. Ibid.

367. Ibid; also refer to “*al-tasawwuf al-islami allathi asasahu al-sheikh muhammad al-kasnazan*” (lit., “The Islamic Sufism Established by Sheikh Muhammad al-Kasnazan”), found on the following link: http://www.islamic-sufism.com

368. From an interview conducted with Dr ‘Adel al-Sayyed-Majeed on May 29, 2011. Dr Sayyed-Majeed was born in Iraq in 1938 and is one of Sheikh Muhammad al-Kasnazan’s appointed successors

369. Refer to the book, “*awrad al-tariqa al-khalwatiyya al-jami’aah al-rahmaniyya*” (lit., “References in the Khalwati-Jami’aah-Rahmani Order”, in Arabic), by Sheikh Husni al-Sharif; published in Amman in 1990; p. 260

370. From an interview conducted with the grandson of Sheikh Husni al-Sharif on June 2, 2011

371. Ibid.

372. Refer to the book, “*awrad al-tariqa al-khalwatiyya al-jami’aah al-rahmaniyya*” (lit., “References in the Khalwati-Jami’aah-Rahmani Order”) (in Arabic), by Sheikh Husni al-Sharif; p. 260

373. From an interview conducted with the grandson of Sheikh Husni al-Sharif on June 2, 2011; also refer to the website of the Qasimi Academy (in Arabic and English) found on the following link: http://www.qsm.ac.il

374. From an interview conducted with the grandson of Sheikh Husni

al-Sharif on June 2, 2011

375. Ibid; Al-Sharif states that his appointment was postponed because, at that time, he was carrying out his obligatory military service in Jordan

376. From an interview conducted with a deputy of Sheikh Husni al-Sharif in Jordan, teacher Sultan al-Aswad al-Hammawi, on June 2, 2011; also refer to the website of the Khalwati-Jami'a-Rahmani Order, found on the following link (in Arabic): http://www.daraleman.org

377. Sheikh 'Amro's grandsons established a *zawya* in the city of Zarqa, Jordan, which was administered and supervised by them, in cooperation with the followers of al-Qasimi. However, the grandsons of Sheikh 'Amro invited Husni al-Sharif to take over this *zawya* in 2003, on the pretext that the Qasimi Order showed signs of deviant practices. The Qasimi Order's followers tried to regain this *zawya* and asked for the mediation of the Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs in resolving the issue of the *zawya*'s ownership. The Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs ultimately decided that it would supervise the *zawya* itself, and actually transformed it into a mosque [Reference: From an interview conducted with the person of Sultan al-Aswad on June 2, 2011]

378. Refer to the website of the Khalwati-Jami'a-Qasimi Order, found on the following link: http://alqasimy.com/Default.aspx

379. From an interview conducted with teacher Sultan al-Aswad al-Hammawi on June 2, 2011; also refer to the website of the al-Qasemi Academic College of Education, found on the following link: http://www.qsm.ac.il

380. Ibid.

381. Khurasan School and Mulamati; refer back to footnotes 235 and 236

382. Refer back to footnote 237

383. Refer back to footnote 238

384. Refer back to footnote 239
385. Refer back to footnote 240

386. Refer to the book "*al-tariqa al-naqshbandiyya wa 'alamiha*" (lit., "The Naqshbandi Order and its 'Ulema"), by Dr Muhammad Ahmad Darnaqiya, from a series on Islamic Sufism; published by Jarous Press; p. 10

387. For more on Khwaja Ubaidallah Ahrar refer to, "Extract from Masters of Wisdom of Central Asia", by Hassan Shushud, translated from Turkish by Muhtar Holland; found on the following link: http://homepage.ntlworld.com/buryali/Khwaja%20Ubaidallah%20Ahrar.pdf [Translator's note]

388. Refer to the book "*al-tariqa al-naqshbandiyya wa 'alamiha*" (lit., "The Naqshbandi Order and its 'Ulema"), by Dr Muhammad Ahmad Darnaqiya, from a series on Islamic Sufism; published by Jarous Press; p. 55

389. Refer to the official website of the Naqshbandi-Haqqani Order, named "*Shams al-Shamous*"; found on the following link: http://www.alhaqqani.com

390. Khalid Bin Walid was the companion of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). He is considered the greatest Muslim general and is buried along with his son in a corner of a mosque in Homs. Khalid›s tombstone depicts a list of over 50 victorious battles that he commanded without defeat (not including the smaller battles he fought in). A sword of his is also displayed at his tomb, as well as a shield.He was one of the most successful military commanders of all times. He is noted for his military prowess, commanding the forces of the Prophet and those of his immediate successors of the Rashidun Caliphate, Abu Bakr and 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab. He has the distinction of being undefeated in over a hundred battles, against the numerically superior forces of the Byzantine Roman Empire, the Sassanid Persian Empire and their allies. His greatest strategic achievements were his swift conquest of the Persian Empire›s Iraq and conquest of Roman Syria within three years from 633 to 636, while his greatest tactical achievements were his successful double envelopment maneuver at Walaja and his decisive victories at Yamamah, Ullais and Yarmouk. [Reference: http://www.islamiclandmarks.com/syria/tomb_of_khalid_ra.html] [Translator's note]

391. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Abd al-Salam Tawfiq

Shamsi on May 27, 2011

392. From the wikipedia site on the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood (in Arabic); found on the following link: http://www.ikhwanwiki.com/index.php?title=%D8%A5%D8%A8%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%87%D9%8A%D9%85_%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%AF_%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A

393. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Muhammad Amin al-Kilani on June 16, 2011

394. Refer back to footnote 247

395. Refer to the website of the Tijani Order (in Arabic; site also available in English); found on the following link: http://www.tidjania.ma/index.php

396. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Muhammad Mahmud al-Musaleh on May 29, 2011; also refer to the Ma'arif al-Tijaniyya website (in Arabic); found on the following link: http://almaareftijania.forumsfree.org/forum

397. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Muhammad Mahmud al-Musaleh on May 29, 2011

398. From an interview conducted with the person of Sheikh 'Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011; also refer to the facebook page of Sheikh Mansur al-Yemeni; found on the following link: http://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100002122878382&sk=wall

399. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Aoun al-Qaddoumi on May 23, 2011

400. Dr 'Abd al-Rahman, "*al-'amal al-dini wa tajdid al-'aqel*" (lit., "Religious Endeavors and Revival of the Intellect"); al-Markiz al-Thaqafi al-'Arabi; Beirut; Second edition; 1997; p. 104

401. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Isma'il al-Kurdi, sheikh of the Shadhili-Hashimi Order, on April 12, 2011

402. From an interview conducted with Dr 'Adel al-Sayyed al-Majeed of

the Qadiri-Kasnazani Order, on May 30, 2011

403. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Husni al-Sharif, the sheikh of the Khalwati Order, on June 2, 2011

404. Here the speaker uses a rhythmic phrase in Arabic "*al-siyyasa tayyasa*" with "*siyyasa"* meaning politics and "*tayyasa"* meaning foolishness, idiocy or absurdity. [Translator's note]

405. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Muhammad Mahmud al-Musaleh (Abu Salah), the sheikh of the Tijani Order, on May 29, 2011

406. With *iman* meaning: "To believe in God, His Angels, His Books, to believe in meeting Him, to believe in His Messengers, the Resurrection and the Predestination"; and *ihsan* being, exclusively the highest status of religion with its meaning being: "To worship God as if you see Him, and if you do not see Him, He sees you." [http://www.islamweb.net/emainpage/index.php?page=showfatwa&Option=FatwaId&Id=87148] Also, refer back to footnote 3 for more details on the three levels of Islam [Translator's note]

407. Refer to 'Abd al-Bari al-Nadawi, "*bayn al-tasawuff wal hayat*" (lit., "Between Sufism and Life"); First edition; Damascus; 1963; pp. 6-7

408. Refer to Muhammad Bin al-Tayyeb; "*islam al-mutasawwifa*" (lit., "Sufi Islam", in Arabic); Dar al-Tali'a; Beirut, Lebanon; First edition; 2007; p. 31

409. Refer to 'Umar Ali Hassan, "*al-sufiyya wal siyasa fi masr*" (lit., "Sufism and Politics in Egypt", in Arabic); Markiz al-Mahrousa; al-Mou'adi; First edition; 1997; p. 97

410. Refer to 'Abd al-Majeed 'Antar, "*al-turuq al-sufiyya wal ist'imar*" (lit., "Sufi Orders and Colonialism", in Arabic); found on the following link: http://news13dz.blogspot.com/2010/12/blog-post_11.html

411. Jamal Abdel Nasser worked on internalizing Sufism into the systems of the new Egyptian regime after the July 23 (1952) revolution, in the context of the confrontation between the regime and the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood. Anwar Sadat and Husni Mubarak both continued this strategy; for more details on this refer to, Dr 'Ammar Ali

Hassan, "*al-tanshi'iya al-siyasiyya lil turuq al-sufiyya fi masr*" (lit., "The Political Rise of Sufi Orders in Egypt", in Arabic); Dar al-'Ayn; Cairo; First edition; 2009; pp. 179-185

412. From the article "*mustashreq faransi: al-sufiyya hiya al-hal*" (lit., "French Orientalist: Sufism is the Solution", in Arabic), written by Hadi Yahmad; found on the following link: http://islamyun.net/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=45

413. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Amin al-Kilani, sheikh of the Qadiri-Naqshbandi Order, on June 15, 2011

414. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Sheikh Hammad 'Uthman Abu 'Awwad, sheikh of the Qadiri-Shadhili Order and speaker of a mosque, on May 30, 2011

415. For more details on the establishment of the Ministry of Awqaf (Religious Endowments) and Religious Affairs, its history, as well as the laws and provisions governing its mandate refer to the ministry's official website (available only in Arabic), found on the following link: http://www.awqaf.gov.jo/pages.php?menu_id=10&local_type=0&local_id=0&local_details=0&local_details1=0&localsite_branchname=Awqaf

416. *Ifta* is a term used to represent the act of issuing a *fatwa* or an Islamic legal opinion usually issued on matters related to everyday life, or Islamic religious rulings, or scholarly opinions on a matter of Islamic law that are issued by an authoritative consultant in matters of Islamic law. Initially a private vocation, this act of issuing official *fatwas* came to be the role of the public office of the "mufti" in the eleventh century. The Ottoman Empire was the first state to integrate muftis into its official bureaucracy. [Reference: Muhammad Abu Rumman, "Conservative Secularism: The Jordanian Approach to Managing the Relationship between the State and Religion"; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Amman Office 2011] [Translator's note]

417. For more details on the Department of Ifta, refer to the department's official website (available only in Arabic), found on the following link: http://www.aliftaa.jo/index.php/pages/view/id/41

418. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir, sheikh of

the Shadhili-Filali (Qadiri) Order on May 31, 2011

419. For more details on the Department of the Supreme Judge and those who held the post of supreme judge (chief justice) refer to the official website of the Department of the Supreme Judge and, specifically, the following link (available only in Arabic): http://www.sjd.gov.jo/sj_history.html

420. Refer to Fulya Atacan's essay on "Sufism and Politics: A Comparison between Turkish and Arab Societies"; published in the "Sharq Nama Magazine" (available in English and on the following link in pdf format: http://sharqnameh.net/admin/images/gallery/uploads2/sharq_nameh_7_english3005.pdf)

421. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Umar al-Sarafandi, sheikh of the Rifa'i Order, on May 28, 2011

422. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Hammad 'Uthman Abu 'Awad, sheikh of the Shadhili-Qadiri Order, on May 30, 2011

423. Ibid.

424. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Nasser al-Din 'Abd al-Latif al-Khatib, sheikh of the Rifa'i-Rawasi Order, on May 31, 2011

425. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh, sheikh of the Shadhili-Filali (Qadiri) Order, on May 31, 2011

426. From an interview conducted with Sheikh and Dr 'Abd al-Jalil 'Abd al-Rahim, one of the sheikhs of the Yashruti Order, on June 4, 2011

427. Interview conducted with Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh, sheikh of the Rifa'i Order, on June 6, 2011

428. A copy of this report can be found on the following link:
http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1716.html
[Translator's note]

429. A copy of this report can be found on the following link:

http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND_MG574.pdf [Translator's note]

430. A copy of this report can be found on the following link: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND_MG782.pdf [Translator's note]

431. A copy of this study can be found on the following link: http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=13665 [Translator's note]

432. A copy of this study can be found on the following link: http://carnegieendowment.org/2007/06/06/sufism-in-central-asia-force-for-moderation-or-cause-of-politicization/bjt [Translator's note]

433. A copy of the conference report can be found on the following link: http://www.hudson.org/files/publications/Understanding_Suffism.pdf [Translator's note]

434. Refer to Al-Sayyed Zahra, "*america wal harb 'ala jabhat al-sufiyya*" (lit., "America and the War on the Sufi Front", in Arabic), found on the following link: http://www.onislam.net/arabic/islamyoon/sufi-orders/113281-2010-03-02%2014-44-33.html

435. Refer to Ibrahim 'Issa, "*sufiyyat al-hizb al-watani*" (lit., "The Sufis of the National Democratic Party", in Arabic), found on the following link: http://www.dostor.org/editorial/10/march/22/10412

436. Refer back to footnote 226

437. Refer to 'Abbas Boughalem, "*sufiyyat al-maghreb: ri'aya rasmiya wa da'am ameriki*" (lit., "Official Patronage and American Support for the Moroccan Sufis", in Arabic), found on the following link: http://www.onislam.net/arabic/islamyoon/sufi-orders/105281-2008-03-16%2019-13-50.html

438. Refer to 'Abbas Boughalem, "*al-zawaya al-boudashishiyya bil maghreb qariba min al-sulta ba'ida 'an al-hizb*" (lit., "The Boudashishi Zawaya in Morocco: Close to the Authorities and Far from the Party"), found on the following link: http://www.onislam.net/arabic/islamyoon/sufi-orders/106259-2008-06-26%2000-00-00.html

439. A reference to the sheikhs and the Sufi orders who made these statements could be found on the following link: http://www.alshames.com/details.asp?id=15347&page=1 [Please note: By the time this study was translated, in November 2011, the popular revolution in Libya succeeded in overthrowing the Qaddafi regime and this site and reference is no longer online or available; instead refer to the following article: http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2011/1044/re2.htm (Translator's note)]

440. Refer to "*ben ali yaqdi al-'utla fi faransa wal sufiyya tahthi biri'ayat al-sulta*" ("Ben Ali Spends the Holidays in France and the Sufis enjoy the Patronage of the Authorities") (in Arabic), found on the following link: http://www.assabilonline.net/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1161

441. For more details on these groups and the Jordanian state's relationship with traditional Salafists, and for more on Political and Jihadi Islam in Jordan, refer to: Muhammad Abu Rumman, "Conservative Secularism: The Jordanian Approach to Managing the Relationship between the State and Religion", Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung; Amman Office; 2011; also refer to Muhammad Abu Rumman and Hassan Abu Haniyeh, "Jordanian Salafism: A Strategy for the 'Islamization of Society' and an Ambiguous Relationship with the State"; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung; Amman Office; 2011

442. Refer to al-Qardawi, "*al-salafiyya wal sufiyya safahat al-thawrat*" (lit., "Salafism and Sufism Stultify the Revolutions", in Arabic), found on the following link: http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/81221E6F-A724-48F5-9238-A986BD2C8978.htm

443. Refer to Subhi Mujahid, "*ba'ad thawrat 25 yanayir: sufiyyat masr yas'oun li'insha' hizb siyasi*" (lit. "After the January 25 Revolution: Egypt's Sufis Work to Establish a Political Party") (in Arabic), found on the following link: http://www.islamonline.net/cs/ContentServer?packedargs=locale%3Dar&c=IOLArticle_C&childpagename=IslamOnline%2FIslamOnlineLayout&p=adam&pagename=IslamOnlineWrapper&cid=1278407482299 [The link referred to at the time of the translation of this study was no longer available: refer instead to: http://cb.rayaheen.net/showthread.php?tid=34382]

444. Shura Council (Arabic for "Consultative Council") represents, in early Islamic history, the board of electors that was constituted by the second caliph (head of the Muslim community), 'Umar I (634–644), to elect his successor. Thereafter, in Muslim states, *shura* refers to a council of state or advisers to the sovereign, or a parliament (in modern times), and – in certain Arab states – it can refer to a court of law with jurisdiction over claims made by citizens and public officials against the government. The word *shura* provides the title of the 42nd chapter of the Qur'an, in which believers are exhorted to conduct their affairs "by mutual consultation". [Reference: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/542358/shura] [Translator's note]

445. Refer to Subhi Mujahid, "*al-majlis al-a'la lil turuq al-sufiyya yarfud insha' hizb siyasi*" (lit., "The Supreme Council of Sufi Orders Rejects the Establishment of a Political Party", in Arabic), found on the following link: http://www.rosaonline.net/Daily/News.asp?id=106059] Also; in October, 2011, Sheikh Al-Qasabi declared, reversing his earlier position, that he embraced Sufi parties and committed himself to supporting their campaigns. [Reference: Jonathan Brown, "Salafis and Sufis in Egypt"; The Carnegie Papers; December 2011; found on the following link: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/salafis_sufis.pdf] [Editor's note]

446. Refer to Ayman 'Abd al-Mun'im, "*al-islamiyoun fi masr*" (lit., "The Islamists in Egypt", in Arabic), found on the following link: http://www.elkhabar.com/ar/monde/244998.html

447. Refer to Muhammad Na'im, "*al-tahrir al-masri: hizb jaded yakhruj min rahm al-sufiyya*" (lit., The Eyptian Liberation Party: A New Party Emerges from the Womb of Sufism", in Arabic), found on the following link: http://65.17.227.84/Web/news/2011/4/645463.html?entry=articlemostsent

448. The *"al-Tahrir al-Masri"* party was founded in March 2011; and, while it did not fare well in the first round of the parliamentary elections, it had some success in the second round in December 2011. [Reference: Jonathan Brown, "Salafis and Sufis in Egypt"; The Carnegie Papers; December 2011; found on the following link: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/salafis_sufis.pdf] [Editor's note]

449. From an interview conducted with Sheikh 'Abd al-Fatah al-Juneidi,

one of the aspirants of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Salam Shamsi al-Naqshbandi; Sheikh al-Juneidi is also the imam of the Ali Saqr Mosque in Hay Nazzal in Amman; interview conducted on May 27, 2011

450. From an interview conducted with of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Sheikh, sheikh of the Shadhili-Filali (Qadiri) Order, on May 31, 2011; also for more on the coming of the Awaited (Imam) al-Mehdi refer back to footnote 234

451. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Husni al-Sharif, sheikh of the Khalwati Order, on June 2, 2011

452. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh, sheikh of the al-Rifa’i Order, on June 6, 2011

453. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ahmad al-Radaydeh, sheikh of the Shadhili-Filali Order, on April 12, 2011

454. From an interview conducted on May 27, 2011 with Sheikh ‘Abd al-Fatah al-Juneidi, one of the aspirants of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Salam Shamsi al-Naqshbandi, also imam of the Ali Saqr Mosque in Hay Nazzal, in Amman

455. From an interview conducted with Sheikh ‘Umar al-Sarafandi, sheikh of the Rifa’i Order, on May 28, 2011

456. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Nasser al-Din al-Khatib, sheikh of the Rifa’i-Rawasi Order, on May 31, 2011

457. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Hazem Abu Ghazaleh, sheikh of the Rifa’i Order, on June 6, 2011

458. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Ahmad al-Radaydeh, sheikh of the Shadhili-Filali Order, on April 12, 2011

459. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Isma’il al-Kurdi, sheikh of the Shadhili-Hashimi Order, on April 12, 2011

460. From an interview conducted with Sheikh Nasser al-Din al-Khatib, sheikh of the Rifa’i-Rawasi Order, on May 31, 2011

461. From interviews conducted with the sheikhs of Jordanian Sufi

orders at various times (referenced previously)

462. Refer to Muhammad Abu Rumman, “Conservative Secularism: The Jordanian Approach to Managing the Relationship between the State and Religion”; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Amman Office 2011; pp. 66-68

الأخيرة من تعزيز وجودها وفاعليتها وبدأت بإدخال أساليب حديثة واستخدام أدوات جديدة، فقد أنشأت معظم الطرق مواقع لها على شبكة الإنترنت، وأطلقت الطريقة الرواسية قناة فضائية للصوفية، واستلهمت بعضها التجربة التركية كالطريقة الخلوتية التي عملت على إنشاء مؤسسات علمية وتربوية واجتماعية واقتصادية عديدة، وشجعت بعضها كالشاذلية اليشرطية دخول المرأة وتفعيل دورها.

لقد دخلت الصوفية في مناطق عديدة من العالمين العربي والإسلامي في سياقات التحديث والتنمية وتمكنت من إحداث تحولات عميقة في أبنيتها التقليدية، وقدمت نماذج إرشادية جذابة كالنموذج الصوفي التركي، وساهمت في تقديم رؤية تقوم على التنوير والتجديد، والدخول في أفق العولمة، وأحرزت نجاحات ثقافية وسياسية مشهودة، إلا أن الطرق الصوفية الكبرى في الأردن كالشاذلية الدرقاوية الهاشمية والعلوية لا تزال تتمسك بتقاليدها الموروثة وتتسم ديناميكية التحديث والتجديد عندها بالبطء الشديد، ولم تدخل جميع الطرق الصوفية في الأردن مجال العمل السياسي ولا تفكر حاليا بتأسيس أحزاب سياسية.

ولعل أحد أهم الأسباب والمعوقات التي تحول دون تفعيل التصوف وانتشاره على نطاق واسع في الأردن ظاهرة الانقسام والتجزؤ الدائم لدى الطرق الصوفية وعدم وجود مرجعيات كبرى، فبمجرد وفاة شيخ الطريقة تنشب خلافات حول وراثة المشيخة بين تلاميذه ومريديه وينتهي الأمر دوما باستقلال وتأسيس كل منهم طريقة وزاوية، وتنشأ بينهم غالبا قطيعة وخصومات واتهامات، كما حدث مع الطريقة الشاذلية الدرقاوية والشاذلية العلوية والطريقة الخلوتية، وقد ظهر ذلك جليا من خلال تجربة تأسيس «مجلس أعلى للتصوف» فبعضهم لم يشارك أصلا، وظهر الخلاف بشكل أساسي حول تولي منصب رئاسة ومشيخة المجلس.

لقد كان واضحا ظهور تأثيرات حداثية وسلفية على بعض الطرق الصوفية، إلا أنها تتبع سلوكا ملتبسا في تبيان هويتها ونهجها، فالنزعة التوفيقة ظاهرة دون الدخول في أفق التجديد بصورة صريحة، ولعل مستقبل الطرق الصوفية في الأردن رهن بقدرتها على التكيف والمقاومة والتجديد بإعادة النظر في بعض مقولاتها وممارستها بالتوصل إلى إبداع رؤى قادرة على بناء تصورات تجمع بين التقليد والتحديث وتوفق بين الروح والمادة.

واجه التصوف في الأردن تحديات عديدة عطلت من فعاليته وحالت دون شيوعه وانتشاره، فالتيار الديني الأقدم وجودا من بين الحركات والجماعات الإسلامية الأخرى لم يتمكن من فرض نفسه بقوة تسمح له بلعب دور فاعل في الحياة الثقافية والاجتماعية والسياسية، وتقدمت عليه حركات وجماعات إسلامية حديثة النشأة والتكوين كالسلفية بتوجهاتها الدعوية والإصلاحية والجهادية، وجماعات الإسلام السياسي الحركي كالإخوان المسلمين وذراعها السياسي جبهة العمل الإسلامي، ولعل التحدي الأبرز الذي يواجه الصوفية يتمثل بقدرتها على التكيف والتجديد في سياق التحديث المطرد.

فالصوفية لم تستثمر السياسات التسامحية للدولة تجاهها ولم تتجاوب مع محاولات تنشيطها وتفعيلها، وتبنت سياسة زهدية في التعاطي مع المبادرات التي دعت لولوجها الفضاء العمومي كمبادرة تأسيس «مجلس أعلى للتصوف»، وفضلت الوفاء لنهجها التاريخي التقليدي في التنظيم والدعوة والتجنيد، وعلى الرغم من استدخالها في المؤسسات الدينية الرسمية وهيمنت رجالها لعقود طويله على تدبير الشأن الديني الرسمي في وزارة الأوقاف ودائرة الإفتاء وقاضي القضاة وغيرها، إلا أن ذلك لم يترجم واقعيا بحضور مجتمعي لافت، رغم كثرة الطرق والزوايا الصوفية وانتشارها في مختلف المدن والمخيمات والقرى الأردنية.

إلا أن اللافت للنظر بصورة إيجابية هو قدرة الصوفية على التكيف والبقاء والاستمرار، فقد خالفت معظم التوقعات الحداثية التي بشرت بزوالها بسبب تقليديتها، وصمدت في مواجهة الهجمات العنيفة التي شنتها التيارات التحديثية والسلفية التي اتهمتها بالجهل والخرافة والسلبية، وألصقت بها أسباب التخلف وتعطيل النهضة والتقدم، وتمكنت خلال السنوات

خاتمة

لرؤية تقوم على مبدأ الحوار والتعايش بين أصحاب الدين الواحد من أتباع المذاهب العقدية والفقهية، وبين أتباع الديانات المختلفة عالميا، وقد تولى الأمير غازي بن محمد الإشراف على الشأن الديني في الديوان الملكي في عهد الملك عبدالله الثاني، وهو يتوافر على ميول دينية صوفية تجلت في كتابه «الحب في القرآن»، وبهذا يتقاسم تدبير الشأن الديني المؤسسة الأمنية والديوان الملكي وفق رؤيتين مختلفتين الغلبة فيها للأمني على الثقافي[٣٢١].

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٣٢١- أنظر: محمد أبو رمان، العلمانية المحافظة، النموذج الأردني في إدارة العلاقة بين الدين والدولة، مؤسسة فريدريش ايبرت، عمان، ٢٠١١، ص٦٦-٦٨.

وإذا كانت الثورات العربية الحديثة بدأت بفرض تحديات عديدة على مختلف التيارات الإسلامية، التي عملت لعقود في إطار أنظمة سلطوية، فالحياة السياسية في مناخات الحرية ما بعد الثورة تتطلب إعادة النظر في مقولات كافة الحركات الإسلامية الدعوية والحركية والجهادية، ويبدو أن هذه التحولات بدأت بالظهور بدرجات متفاوته، وتبدو الطرق الصوفية مندرجة في سنن التحول والتغيير ولكن ببطء شديد، ومن المرجح أن تحافظ أكثر الطرق الصوفية على أطرها التقليدية ووظائفها الدينية والاجتماعية المحافظة، بينما ستسعى بعضها إلى الدخول في أفق التحديث والحداثة السياسية من خلال المشاركة السياسية وتكوين أحزاب ومؤسسات تجمع بين التقليد والتحديث خشية تقلص نفوذها وخسارة أتباعها في سياق نشوء فضاءات عمومية للحوار والتواصل صودرت لعقود طويلة، إلا أن جميع الطرق الصوفية في الأردن ترفض التحول لأحزاب سياسية حتى الآن وتشدد على المحافظة على أطرها التقليدية، فالشيخ حازم أبو غزالة يؤكد على أنه: لم يفكر في تأسيس حزب، ويقول لم أقل إننا سنطرح أنفسنا حزباً سياسياً كما نقلت عني إحدى الصحف، ونلتزم بطريقتنا ومنهج التربية فقط، أما الشيخ محمد عبد الحليم القادري فيقول: أفضّل أن تبقى الصوفية كما هي، ولا تشكل حزباً، وينبه الشيخ ناصر الدين الخطيب لخطورة تأسيس أحزاب صوفية في الوقت الحالي بقوله: كل طريقة تتحول إلى حزب تنتهي إما إلى أداة بيد الأجهزة الأمنية، أو إلى خلافات وتفرق، ويؤكد الشيخ أحمد الردايدة على فساد الحزبية وبدعيتها بقوله: لم يكن في الدولة الإسلامية أحزاب؛ بسبب صلاح دين الناس الذي جعلهم يداً واحدة ومجتمعاً واحداً، أما الأحزاب الإسلامية اليوم فهي قائمة على مصالح خاصة ليس إلا[٣٢٠].

وعلى الرغم من مرور عقود طويلة منذ تأسيس الإمارة في الأردن ثم تحولها إلى ملكية، إلا أن العلاقة بين الدين والدولة لا تزال ملتبسة، فتدبير الشأن الديني يخضع لإدارة الأجهزة الأمنية باعتباره ملفا أمنيا، وقد بدأت العناية به كشأن ثقافي اجتماعي سياسي منذ بداية التسعينيات، ونشط بعد تولي الملك عبدالله الثاني العرش، وخصوصا عقب أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر ٢٠٠١، وتفجيرات عمان ٢٠٠٥، حيث بدأ الديوان الملكي بالتعاطي مع الملف بصورة أكبر، ويعتبر الأمير الحسن بن طلال أحد أبرز دعاة المقاربة الدينية الشمولية محليا وعالميا، فقد أسس لعدد من المؤسسات الدينية المرموقة، كمؤسسة آل البيت عام ١٩٨٠م، والمعهد الملكي للدراسات الدينية عام ١٩٩٤م، وساهم بتأسيس جامعة آل البيت في نفس السنة، وهي مؤسسات تستند

٣٢٠- مقابلات أجريت مع مشايخ الطرق بأوقات مختلفة.

الحفاظ على الكيان العام، وإذا كان هناك من يستطيع أن ينصر التصوف ويعيد رعاية العالم به، فهم الهاشميون [٣١٥]. ويعبر الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة عن تأييده للنظام مع الحفاظ على الاستقلالية بقوله: نحترم النظام، ولا نتعرض للتضييق من الأجهزة الأمنية، ولم نتلقَّ أي دعم من الدولة، ويكفينا أننا نحترمهم ويحترموننا، واحترامنا لهم لا يعني أن ننتسب إليهم، فالصوفي حر، ولا يحبّ أن يقيّده أحد، لذلك نحن نحترم النظام من غير أن نبيعه أنفسنا، حتى لا يقال: النظام اشترى الشيخ، وحينئذ نخسر ثقة الناس، ونتجنت الصدام مع الدولة وانتقادها حتى لا نتعرض للتضييق[٣١٦]. ويغبر الشيخ أحمد الردايدة عن موقفه من النظام بقوله: تحظى الأردن برعاية من الله سبحانه، لسببين: وجود آل البيت في سدة الحكم، وقبور الصحابة ومقاماتهم[٣١٧]. أما الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي فيقول: الصوفية ليسوا مع الدولة، وليسوا ضدها[٣١٨].

ويشير الشيخ ناصر الدين الخطيب إلى أن مشايخ الطرق الصوفية يتبنون موقفا مزدوجا من السلطة، ففي الظاهر يؤيدون النظام وفي الباطن ومع مريديهم يعارضونه، إذ يقول: شيوخ الصوفية يتعاملون مع الدولة بوجهين، يقولون للدولة نحن أبناؤكم البررة، وإذا خلوا بالمريدين حرضوهم على الدولة[٣١٩]، إلا أن جميع مشايخ الطرق الذين تمت مقابلتهم يؤكدون ولائهم للعرش والعائلة المالكة ويعتقدون أنهم ينتمون إلى التصوف ويتداولون روايات عديدة حول تلقي وأخذ الملك عبدالله الأول وطلال والحسين ومعظم الأمراء الطريقة الصوفية، إلا أنهم مختلفون حول الشيخ والطريقة. ويؤكدون عدم تلقي أي دعم مادي من الحكومة، وتتفاوت علاقتهم مع الدولة وخصوصا الأجهزة الأمنية فبعضهم يؤكد وجود مضايقات وآخرين ينفون ذلك.

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٣١٥- مقابلة مع الشيخ ناصر الدين عبد اللطيف الخطيب، شيخ الطريقة الرفاعية الرواسية، بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٣١٦- مقابلة مع الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة، شيخ الطريقة الرفاعية، بتاريخ ٦ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

٣١٧- مقابلة مع الشيخ أحمد الردايدة، شيخ الطريقة الشاذلية الفيلالية، بتاريخ ١٢ / ٤ / ٢٠١١م.

٣١٨- مقابلة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي، شيخ الطريقة الشاذلية الهاشمية، بتاريخ ١٢ / ٤ / ٢٠١١م.

٣١٩- مقابلة مع الشيخ ناصر الدين عبد اللطيف الخطيب، شيخ الطريقة الرفاعية الرواسية، بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

في المظاهرات المطالبة بالتغيير والإصلاح والحكم بالقرآن والسنة شهداء. والثورات تدل على أن الوعي الإسلامي عمّ وانتشر، وأصبح الناس مقتنعين بوجوب إزالة الظلم، وأكبر الظلم هو الحكم بغير ما أنزل الله، والوقوف على الحدود لحماية اليهود[٣١١].

ولم تشهد الطرق الصوفية في الأردن تمردا على النظام، وتعتبر حالة الاستاذ ليث شبيلات نادرة في تاريخ التصوف الأردني، فعلى الرغم من انتمائه الروحي للصوفية وسلوكه الطريق في زاوية الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة لسنوات، يعد المعارض الأبرز للنظام، وقد اتهم واعتقل عام ١٩٩٢م بتهمة تأسيس تنظيم مسلح باسم «النفير الاسلامي» للقيام بعمليات ضد إسرائيل، إلا أن شبيلات ينفي هذه التهمة ويعتبرها سخيفة وكيدية ولا أصل لها، ويعزز من مصداقية روايته اعتقاله ومحاكمته بعد ذلك أكثر من مرة وتعرضه للمضايقة والاعتداء.

وينظر معظم شيوخ الطرق الصوفية في الأردن إلى النظام بإيجابية، وتتلخص رؤيتهم للنظام الملكي باعتباره شرعيا نظرا لنتماء العائلة الحاكمة للنسب الهاشمي النبوي، فالشيخ أحمد الردايدة يقول: يكفينا فخراً أننا نعيش في هذه البلاد بأمان، وأن الهاشميين يتقبلون الرأي والرأي الآخر، وهذا لا يعني أنه لا يوجد فساد، وأننا لسنا بحاجة إلى إصلاح[٣١٢]. أما الشيخ عبد الفتاح الجنيدي فيقول: علاقتنا مع الحاكم قائمة على حديث: «الحاكم ظل الله في أرضه... فاصبروا حتى يأتي الله بأمره»[٣١٣]. ويؤكد الشيخ عمر الصرفندي على محبة النظام الأردني والولاء للحكم بقوله: نحب النظام الأردني لأن الملك من آل بيت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، الذين حض الكتاب والسنة على حبهم. والذي أعرفه أن جميع الطرق تحب وتحترم وتجل وتقدّر آل بيت النبي عليه الصلاة والسلام[٣١٤]. ويشدد الشيخ ناصر الدين الخطيب على مبدأ الطاعة والمناصحة بقوله: نحن نحافظ على ولي الأمر، لأنه أبو الدار، وإذا مُسّ الأب هُدمت الدار. وإنما نحن ناصحون لولي الأمر، ننصح له وندعو له ولا نغشّه، ونوقّر جميع ذوي الهيئات من أجل

٣١١– مقابلة مع الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة، شيخ الطريقة الرفاعية، بتاريخ ٦ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

٣١٢– مقابلة مع الشيخ أحمد الردايدة، شيخ الطريقة الشاذلية الفيلالية، بتاريخ ١٢ / ٤ / ٢٠١١م.

٣١٣– مقابلة مع الشيخ عبد الفتاح الجنيدي، أحد مريدي الشيخ عبد السلام شمسي النقشبندي، وإمام مسجد علي صقر في حي نزال بعمّان، بتاريخ ٢٧ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٣١٤– مقابلة مع الشيخ عمر الصرفندي، شيخ الطريقة الرفاعية، بتاريخ ٢٨ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

«سننتظر لجنة الأحزاب الجديدة لنحدّد طبيعة الحزب الجديد. فإذا لم يسمح بأحزاب دينية، سيكون حزبا سياسيا يضم كافة الفئات تحت رعاية مشايخ الصوفية. أما إذا سمح بأحزاب دينية، فلابد أن يكون للصوفية حزب، ككيان سياسي يدافع عن الصوفية ويجمع مشايخ الطرق الصوفية، ليكون لهم توجيه وتفاعل سياسي واجتماعي. مؤكدين أنه لا يوجد ما يمنع من تأسيس حزب سياسي اجتماعي يجمع الصوفيين، البالغ عددهم رسميا ٥١ مليون صوفي»[٣٠٦]. وأعلن الشيخ علاء الدين ماضي أبو العزايم شيخ الطريقة العزمية عن التحضير لإنشاء حزب «التحرير المصري»، يضم شخصيات سياسية واقتصادية مصرية وهو حزب مدني في إطار «جبهة الإصلاح»[٣٠٧].

في الأردن تتضارب مواقف الطرق الصوفية من الثورات الشعبية، فالشيخ عبدالفتاح الجنيدي يقول: نحن لا نتدخل في خبايا الأمور؛ فالله هو الذي أعطى هذا الحاكم الملك، وهو الذي خلعه[٣٠٨]. أما الشيخ عبد القادر الشيخ فيقول: ننظر إلى الثورات العربية من جهتين: الأولى: أنها فتن سببها فساد الحكام. والثانية: أن القدر يهيئ الأسباب للفرج القريب بظهور الإمام المهدي[٣٠٩]، أما الشيخ حسني الشريف فيقول: نؤيد الثورات الشعبية في البلاد العربية، ولكننا لا نتدخل بالإصلاح في الأردن خشية اندلاع الفتنة العنصرية[٣١٠]. ويؤيد الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة الثورات العربية بقوله: الثورات العربية جميعها ممهّدات لظهور المهدي، وهي أمر إلهي إيجابي يدلّ على أننا نعيش الآن في عصر المهدي المنتظر. والمظاهرات جائزة، والوقوف في وجه الحاكم الظالم واجب، فسيد الشهداء حمزة ورجل قام إلى إمام جائر فنصحه فقتله، والذين يُقتلون

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٣٠٦– أنظر: إيمان عبد المنعم، الاسلاميون في مصر، على الرابط: http://www.elkhabar.com/ar/monde/244998.html

٣٠٧– أنظر: محمد نعيم، التحرير المصري... حزب جديد يخرج من رحم الصوفية، على الرابط: http://65.17.227.84/Web/news/2011/4/645463.html?entry=articlemostsent

٣٠٨– مقابلة مع الشيخ عبد الفتاح الجنيدي، أحد مريدي الشيخ عبد السلام شمسي النقشبندي، وإمام مسجد علي صقر في حي نزال بعمّان، بتاريخ ٢٧ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٣٠٩– مقابلة مع الشيخ عبد القادر الشيخ، شيخ الطريقة الشاذلية الفيلالية (القادرية)، بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٣١٠– مقابلة مع الشيخ حسني الشريف، شيخ الطريقة الخلوتية، بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

النظام السابق ورئيسه كانت تقوم على مبدأ «أطيعوا الله وأطيعوا الرسول وأولي الأمر منكم»، فهذا مبدأ صوفي عام، ولكن ليس معنى ذلك إطاعة ولي الأمر في الخطأ، فنحن نطيع ولي الأمر في حالة صلاحيته»[٣٠٤].

ويبدو سلوك الطرق الصوفية واضحا بالميل نحو الواقعية الفجة فهي مع سلطة المتغلب بغض النظر عن نهجه وسلوكه السياسي، ولذلك شهدت الطرق الصوفية تبدلا متوقعا عقب نجاح الثورة في تونس ومصر، وعادت إلى متلازمتها التاريخية بين الإخلاص لوظيفتها الدينية كأيديولوجية فردية للخلاص الروحي في إطار مؤسساتها التقليدية «الطرق» والانشغال بالآخرة، وبين الدخول في أفق التحديث والاشتغال بالسياسة من خلال «الأحزاب»، وشهدت الطرق الصوفية انقساما فمعظمها آثر العودة إلى التقليد بينما أعلن بعضها عن عزمه على الدخول في الحياة السياسية والمشاركة بفعالية من خلال تكوين أحزاب، التحولات السياسية للطرق الصوفية بمصر شملت محاولة الاستفادة من الثورة لتصفية الحسابات مع الشيخ عبد الهادي القصبي شيخ المشايخ الصوفية لكونه أحد أعضاء الحزب الوطني المصري، وعضو مجلس الشورى المعين من قبل النظام السابق، وقامت ١٥ طريقة صوفية بإصدار بيان طالبت فيه بعزل شيخ المشايخ باعتباره من فلول الحزب الوطني ولابد من تطهير المشيخة الصوفية، وأعلن المجلس الأعلى للطرق الصوفية برئاسة د. عبد الهادي القصبي، شيخ مشايخ الطرق الصوفية، ومشايخ ٤٥ طريقة رفض إنشاء أحزاب سياسية باسم الصوفية، مؤكداً أن النشاط الصوفي سيستمر ولن يتأثر بما يحدث حالياً.[٣٠٥]

وكانت ٨١ طريقة من الطرق الصوفية، ومنها العزمية والشبراوية والشرنوبية والإمبابية، قد أعلنت عن عزمها تأسيس حزب سياسي ينسجم ومتطلبات المرحلة الحالية والمقبلة، من أجل تحقيق مبدأ المواطنة تحت اسم «التسامح الاجتماعي». كما طالب مشايخ الطرق الصوفية بتطهير المجلس الصوفي الأعلى من رموز الحزب الوطني التابع لنظام مبارك، حيث قالوا

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٣٠٤- أنظر: صبحي مجاهد، بعد ثورة ٢٥ يناير صوفية مصر يسعون لإنشاء حزب سياسي، على الرابط:
http://cb.rayaheen.net/showthread.php?tid=34382]

٣٠٥- أنظر: صبحي مجاهد، المجلس الأعلى للطرق الصوفية يرفض انشاء حزب سياسي، على الرابط:h ttp://www.rosaonline.net/Daily/News.asp?id=106059

محمد سعيد رمضان البوطي صوفي ويضم حزب البعث الحاكم ومجلس الشعب عددا من أتباع الطرق الصوفية، وهي تؤيد الحزب وتبارك نظام الحكم والرئيس الأسد الأب الراحل والإبن الحالي[٣٠٠]، وفي ليبيا توالي الطرق الصوفية نظام العقيد معمر القذافي وقد رفعت أثناء الثورة الشعبية الحالية عددا من بيانات التأييد والولاء للنظام[٣٠١]، وفي تونس تمتعت الصوفية إبان حكم زين العابدين بن علي بالرعاية والدعم وباتت جزءا من النظام السياسي وتعاظم دورها لمواجهة الإسلام السياسي وخصوصا حزب النهضة، واستخدت لإسباغ الشرعية على النظام[٣٠٢]. وفي الأردن فشلت محاولات توظيف التصوف كما حدث في معظم الدول العربية من خلال إنشاء مجلس أعلى للتصوف، إلا أن الصوفي الفردية داخل أجهزة الدولة كانت حاضرة، أما التصوف كطرق فقد تمتع بتسهيلات من خلال إنشاء زوايا، غير أنه لم يثبت فعالية كبيرة مما جعل الدولة تذهب للتيارات السافية التقليدية والتحالف معها في مواجهة حركات الإسلام السياسي والجهادي.

وفي هذا السياق بدا واضحا سلوك الطرق الصوفية وموقفها من الثورات الجارية في العالم العربي، الأمر الذي دعا الشيخ يوسف القرضاوي إلى القول بأن الصوفية «سفهت الثورات العربية» عبر ثقافة سامة تربط الفتنة بالخروج على الحكام[٣٠٣]، وتراوحت مواقف الطرق الصوفية تجاه الثورات بين الصمت والإدانة، فقد اعترف الشيخ محمد الشهاوي رئيس المجلس العالمي للصوفية وشيخ الطريقة الشهاوية بأن معظم الطرق الصوفية – إن لم يكن كلها – تحول موقفها من النظام الحاكم عقب نجاح ثورة ٢٥ يناير، وقال: «إن الطرق الصوفية في موقفها من

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٣٠٠– أنظر: التصوف في سوريا في سطور، على الرابط: http://safeena.org/vb/showthread.php?100013173-%C7%E1%CA%D5%E6%DD-%DD%ED-%D3%E6%D1%ED%C7-%DD%ED-%C8%D6%DA%C9-%D3%D8%E6%D1

٣٠١– أنظر: مشايخ ومريدو الطرق الصوفية، على الرابط: http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2011/1044/re2.htm

٣٠٢– أنظر: بن علي يقضي العطلة في فرنسا، والصوفية تحظى برعاية السلطة، على الرابط: http://www.assabilonline.net/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1161

٣٠٣– القرضاوي، السلفية والصوفية سفهت الثورات، على الرابط: h ttp://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/81221E6F-A724-48F5-9238-A986BD2C8978.htm

الصوفية[٢٩٦]، وفي الجزائر حظيت الطرق الصوفية بدعم النظام وفي المقابل ساندت الصوفية وفي مقدمتها الطريقة القادرية التي باتت أحد أركان السلطة الحكم وساهمت بفوز عبد العزيز بوتفليقة بالرئاسةفي انتخابات ١٩٩٩، و٢٠٠٤، ومن أهم المقترحات التي قدمت للحكومة دعوة الدكتور محمد بن بريكة أحد أنشط أتباع الطريقة القادرية، لإنشاء مشيخة تجمع كافة الطرق الصوفية لمواجهة المد السلفي في البلاد؛ حفاظا على المرجعية الدينية للدولة والمتمثلة في المذهب المالكي[٢٩٧]. وفي المغرب كان توظيف الزوايا خلال هذه المرحلة يتم بشكل غير مباشر، من خلال الاستفادة من طبيعة الثقافة السياسية التي كانت تعمل على نشرها بين مريديها، وتوظيفها اليوم يتم بشكل مباشر وشفاف من خلال إدماج هذه الزوايا في دواليب الحكم بهدف مواجهة مختلف التنظيمات السياسية الإسلامية، وهذا ما اتضح بشكل جلي منذ انطلاق عملية إعادة هيكلة الحقل الديني، بهدف رسم معالم سياسة دينية جديدة قصد ضبط التوازنات الدينية والسياسية[٢٩٨]، من هنا تعلن الطريقة البودشيشية بكل صراحة ووضوح أنها لا تناصب العداء لأحد ولا تنازع أحدا، وشيخها حمزة يلح دائما على ضرورة جمع الشمل داعيا المغاربة على اختلاف انتماءاتهم ومشاربهم إلى نبذ الخلافات والنزاعات وإلى العمل لما فيه صالح البلاد والعباد، وإلى الالتفاف من أجل ذلك حول أمير المؤمنين

صاحب الجلالة محمد السادس[٢٩٩]، وفي سوريا تتمتع الصوفية برعاية فائقة وحضور مكثف في هياكل السلطة فمفتي الجمهورية السابق أحمد كفتارو هو شيخ الطريقة النقشبندية، والشيخ

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٢٩٦- أنظر: إبراهيم عيسى، صوفية الحزب الوطني، على الرابط:
http://www.dostor.org/editorial/10/march/22/10412

٢٩٧- أنظر: عبد الرحمن أبو رومي، القادرية في الجزائر بصمات في الدين والسياسة، على الرابط: http://www.onislam.net/arabic/islamyoon/sufi-orders/107115-2008-06-09%2000-00-00.html

٢٩٨- أنظر: عباس بوغالم، صوفية المغرب رعاية رسمية ودعم امريكي، على الرابط:
http://www.onislam.net/arabic/islamyoon/sufi-orders/105281-2008-03-16%2019-13-50.html

٢٩٩- أنظر: عباس بوغالم، الزاوية البودشيشية بالمغرب قريبة من السلطة بعيدة عن الحزب، على الرابط:
http://www.onislam.net/arabic/islamyoon/sufi-orders/106259-2008-06-26%2000-00-00.html

ويبدو أن ضعف الطرق الصوفية في الأردن وعدم وضوح برامجها وأهدافها حال دون تأسيس مجلس أعلى للتصوف، كما أن الخلاف حول زعامة المجلس وطبيعته كما يؤكد مشايخ الطرق لم تمكنه من الظهور، وهناك خلاف حول جدوى تأسيسه بين مؤيد ومعارض.

وفي هذا السياق أخذت العلاقة بين الطرق الصوفية والأنظمة العربية مداها الأقصى عقب أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر ٢٠٠١، فقد كشفت الهجمات على مبنى التجارة العالمي والبنتاغون في نيويورك وواشنطن عن تورط أيديولوجية سلفية جهادية عربية، الأمر الذي حمل الإدارة الأمريكية على تبني سياسة «الحرب على الإرهاب»، وفي إطارها الشمولي تبنت حرب أفكار تستند إلى رعاية «إسلام معتدل» ووجدت ضالتها لدى الطرق الصوفية، وعكفت مراكز الدراسات ومخازن الأفكار على عقد مؤتمرات وإصدار دراسات والقيام بعمليات تشبيك واسعة مع الطرق الصوفية بالتعاون والتنسيق مع الأنظمة العربية الحاكمة، وكانت أولى الثمرات دراسة أصدرتها مؤسسة «راند» الأمريكية للأبحاث في عام ٢٠٠٣ بعنوان «الإسلام المدني الديمقراطي»، والتي أشارت إلى أن الجماعات الصوفية احد الحلفاء المفترضين لأمريكا في العالم الإسلامي، وفي عام ٢٠٠٧ أصدرت دراسة أخرى بعنوان «بناء شبكات إسلامية معتدلة»، وفي عام ٢٠٠٩ أصدرت دراسة أخرى تطرقت إلى الصوفية بعنوان «الإسلام الراديكالي في شرق إفريقيا»، وفي عام ٢٠٠٥، اصدر معهد الولايات المتحدة للسلام دراسة بعنوان «الإسلام السياسي في إفريقيا جنوب الصحراء» تطرقت إلى المسألة الصوفية في المنطقة، كما أصدرت مؤسسة كارنجي الامريكية للأبحاث عام ٢٠٠٧ دراسة موسعة بعنوان «الصوفية في آسيا الوسطى»، وفي آذار/مارس ٢٠٠٤، نظم مركز نيكسون للدراسات مؤتمرا بعنوان «فهم الصوفية ودورها المحتمل في سياسة الولايات المتحدة»[٢٩٥].

لقد تزامنت هذه الفعاليات الدولية بنشاط صوفي في معظم الدول العربية والإسلامية، في إطار سياسات الولاء / الرعاية واستدخلت الصوفية كأيديولوجية تسامحية في سياق الحرب الثقافية الباردة لنزع التطرف والعنف وإسباغ الشرعية على الأنظمة السلطوية، ففي مصر ينتمي عدد من مشايخ الطرق الصوفية إلى الحزب الوطني ومفتي الجمهورية وشيخ الأزهر من أقطاب

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٢٩٥– أنظر: السيد زهره، امريكا والحرب على جبهة الصوفية، على الرابط:
http://www.onislam.net/arabic/islamyoon/sufi-orders/113281-2010-03-02%2014-44-33.html

أما الشيخ عبد القادر الشيخ فيقدم رواية أكثر تفصيلا، إذ يقول: بحدود عام ١٩٨٦م؛ دعا الشيخ عبد العزيز الخياط شيوخ الصوفية لاجتماع، وكنت أحد الحاضرين، فقال لنا الخياط: الملك حسين لديه رغبة في إنشاء مجلس أعلى للتصوف في الأردن كما هو الحال في مصر. فقلت له: عفوا؛ سيدنا يريد ذلك بشكل رسمي، أم مجرد فكرة؟ فقال: بل هذه رغبة سيدنا. فاقترحت أن يتم تشكيل وفد لمقابلة الملك، وبالفعل شُكل الوفد من أربعة أشخاص هم: أمين الكيلاني، وعبد القادر الشيخ، والدكتور عبد الجليل عبد الرحيم، وعبد الملك تلميذ الشيخ محمد هاشم البغدادي. ثم تبين بأن الفكرة جائت من دائرة المخابرات بالتنسيق مع وزارة الأوقاف. وأعيد طرح المجلس مرة أخرى عام ١٩٩٤م؛ وفشلت الفكرة[٢٩٢].

ويقدم الشيخ الدكتور عبد الجليل عبد الرحيم رواية أخرى فهو يقول: في نهاية الثمانينيات؛ كلّف الملك حسين مستشاره آنذاك عز الدين التميمي بمهمة تأسيس مجلس أعلى للتصوف، وجاءني من طرفه نائب قاضي القضاة آنذاك الشيخ محمد الجمل، وأخبرني برغبة الملك، فقلت له: أنا أؤسس هذا المجلس ولكن بشرطين: الأول: أن يكون خالصاً لوجه الله تعالى؛ لا بغرض التحكم به وتوظيفه لتأييد الدولة. والثاني: أن أكون رئيسه هنا وأنت رئيسه هناك، فقال لي الجمل: هم لا يريدونك عضواً فيه أصلاً. فرفضت مساعدته في تأسيس المجلس، وحاولوا العمل على تأسيسه مراراً ولكنهم فشلوا. وكان يُراد أن يكون للمجلس الأعلى دور هامٌّ لصالح الدولة، ولا أستبعد أن يكون الهدف منه ضرب الإخوان المسلمين، ولذلك كان الإخوان من المعارضين لفكرة تأسيس مجلس أعلى للتصوف[٢٩٣].

اما الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة فيقول: في عام ١٩٩٠م طرح عليّ الشيخ عبد القادر عيسى رحمه الله فكرة جمع الطرق الصوفية في الأردن تحت كيان واحد من أجل التعاون على الخير، ولكن الفكرة فشلت بسبب حظ النفوس والخلاف على الزعامة، ويوجد هناك تفكير بإعادة طرح فكرة تأسيس مجلس أعلى للتصوف في الأردن[٢٩٤].

بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٩٢- مقابلة مع الشيخ عبد القادر الشيخ، شيخ الطريقة الشاذلية الفيلالية (القادرية)، بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٩٣- مقابلة مع الشيخ د. عبد الجليل عبد الرحيم، أحد شيوخ الطريقة اليشرطية، بتاريخ ٤ / ٦ / ٢٠١١

٢٩٤- مقابلة مع الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة، شيخ الطريقة الرفاعية، بتاريخ ٦ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

وبحسب الشيخ حماد أبو عواد بعد قدوم الشيخ سعيد حوى من حماة إلى الأردن؛ حاول أن يجمع الطرق الصوفية في الأردن في مجلس أعلى للتصوف، ودعا إلى اجتماع عُقد في منزل محمد عادل الشريف في جبل الحسين بنهاية الثمانينيات، وكنت حاضراً ذلك المجلس، وأذكر من الحاضرين: عبد القادر الشيخ، حسن الرزوق، محمد عادل الشريف، وبقية الشيوخ أرسلوا مندوبين عنهم. وهيمن الشيخ محمد عادل الشريف على الجلسة، وكان شديد المحاسبة للمتأخرين عن موعد عقد الجلسة، ما أوقع في نفوسهم شيئاً من الشحناء، ثم وقع بينهم الخلاف، ولم تفلح الفكرة [٢٨٩]. وحاول الشيخ عبد العزيز الخياط عندما كان وزيرا للأوقاف في بداية التسعينيات أن يجمع الصوفية تحت لافتة (المجلس الأعلى للتصوف)، ولكن فهم مشايخ الصوفية أن صفة هذه الدعوة رسمية، وأنهم سيُستخدمون من أجل إصدار فتاوى مؤيدة للدولة، فما كان منهم إلا أن رفضوا ذلك[٢٩٠].

ويقدم الشيخ ناصر الخطيب رواية أخرى فهو يقول: في عام ١٩٨٥م؛ طلب الملك الراحل الحسين من أحمد هليل أن ينسق له لقاءً مع شيوخ الطرق الصوفية، فقام هذا الأخير بالتنسيق مع وزير الأوقاف آنذاك عبدالعزيز الخياط، وتم ترتيب اجتماع لمشايخ الطرق الصوفية، واختار هليل والخياط الشيخ عمر الصرفندي ممثلاً للطريقة الرفاعية، ولم يختاراني خشية أن أتحدث أمام الملك فيُعجب بي ويقربني إليه. ولم يكن الهدف من تشكيل مجلس أعلى للتصوف تحقيق أية مصلحة للصوفية، وإنما المطلوب تقديم ولاءات صوفية للنظام. والعرض الذي قدمه هليل والخياط على شيوخ الصوفية تمثل في أن تتبنى وزارة الأوقاف التصوف، مقابل رواتب مغرية تدفع لشيوخ الطرق الصوفية. وبالنسبة لي فقد رفضت هذا العرض وقلت إنه يضر بالتصوف وبالهاشميين، وحين اقتنعت الدولة أن الصوفية لن ينفعوهم بشيء؛ ألغت الفكرة. وفي عام ٢٠٠٤ طرحت فكرة اجتماع دوري لمشايخ التصوف للتنسيق فيما بينهم، ولم يكن الهدف منها بالضرورة تشكيل مجلس أعلى للتصوف. ولكنها فشلت. ولن يكون في الأردن مجلس أعلى للتصوف؛ لأن الصوفية ليست تنظيماً، وكل طريقة تتحول إلى حزب تنتهي إما إلى أداة بيد الأجهزة الأمنية، أو إلى خلافات وتفرق[٢٩١].

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٢٨٩- مقابلة مع الشيخ حماد عثمان أبو عواد، الطريقة الشاذلية القادرية، خطيب مسجد، بتاريخ ٣٠ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٩٠- المصدر السابق.

٢٩١- مقابلة مع الشيخ ناصر الدين عبد اللطيف الخطيب، شيخ الطريقة الرفاعية الرواسية،

للطرق الصوفية فى مصر اليوم مبنى على القانون رقم ١١٨ الصادر عام ١٩٧٦، ويتكون المجلس الأعلى من ١٦ عضوا منهم عشرة منتخبين من قبل ال ٧٣ طريقة صوفية المعترف بها، ومدة ولايته ثلاث سنوات. وإلى جانب هؤلاء العشرة هناك ممثل لشيخ الأزهر، وممثل لوزارة الأوقاف وممثل لوزارة الداخلية وممثل لوزارة الثقافة، وممثل للأمن العام فى الحكومة المحلية والمنظمات الشعبية، وكلهم من المعينين. ويتم إنتخاب العشرة مشايخ من الفرق الصوفية المعترف بها بواسطة مجلس الشعب ويعين شيخ المشايخ بواسطة رئيس الجمهورية. والمجلس الأعلى للطرق الصوفية فى مصر مسؤول عن الإشراف على الممارسات الصوفية والإعتراف بالطرق الجديدة وإصدار قرارات تحذر من ممارسات أى مجموعات أو أشخاص غير مسجلة وتدعى أنها جزء من الحركة الصوفية، وفى الواقع فإن هناك فى مصر العديد من فروع الطرق الصوفية الغير مسجلة رسمياً، والتى لا يحتاج شيوخها إلى الإعتراف من قبل الدولة لكى يمارسوا سلطاتهم[٢٨٧].

لقد حاولت الدولة في الأردن مرات عديدة إنشاء مجلس أعلى للتصوف على غرار التجربة المصرية، إلا أن هذه المحاولات فشلت لأسباب عديدة، ولعل الدافع لإنشاء المجلس كان تنظيم الطرق الصوفية لأسباغ الشرعية على النظام واستثمارها في مواجهة ظاهرة الإسلام السياسي والجهادي التي بدأت بالبروز منذ ثمانينيات القرن الماضي وفي مقدمتها جماعة الإخوان المسلمين التي ظهرت كقوة معارضة سياسية رئيسية وتحولت من التحالف مع النظام إلى الخصومة، وجماعة السلفية الجهادية التي أسقطت شرعية الدولة نظريا وتبنت القوة المسلحة للتغيير.

وهناك تضارب كبير لدى شيوخ الطرق الصوفية في الأردن حول تأسيس مجلس أعلى للتصوف وأسباب فشله، فالشيخ عمر الصرفندي يقول: الأمر الإلهي لم يسمح بأن يكون هناك مجلس أعلى للطرق الصوفية في الأردن. واجتمعت بالدكتور عبد الجليل عبد الرحيم، والشيخ ناصر الخطيب الذي قال لي: هل تقبل أن يكون د. عبد الجليل هو رئيس المجلس الأعلى للتصوف؟ قلت: لا. فقال لي: من تقترح أن يكون رئيساً للمجلس؟ فقلت: يجتمع مشايخ الطرق، ويصلون ركعتين، ثم ينامون، فمن يأتيه النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في المنام ويلبسه الجبّة؛ أقبل به حتى لو كان طفلاً صغيراً[٢٨٨].

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٢٨٧– أنظر فوليا أتاجان، الصوفية والسياسة: مقارنة بين المجتمعات التركية والعربية، مجلة شرق نامة، العدد السابع، يناير ٢٠١١.

٢٨٨– مقابلة مع الشيخ عمر الصرفندي، شيخ الطريقة الرفاعية، بتاريخ ٢٨ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

مفتي القوات المسلحة متصوفة منذ تأسيسها، فقد تولى الشيخ عبدالله العزب وهو أحد تلاميذ الشيخ أحمد الدباغ الصوفي المعروف الذي كانت له زاوية معروفة في مدينة معان[٢٨٥]، وقد تولى هذا المنصب الشيخ نوح القضاة عام ١٩٧٢ خلفا للعزب، وينتمي معظم من تولى منصب قاضي القضاة للصوفية منذ تأسيسها عام ١٩٢١، حيث تولى الشيخ محمد الخضر الشنقيطي هذا المنصب عند تأسيسه وتولاه محمد أمين الشنقيطي ونوح القضاة[٢٨٦].

وبحسب فوليا أتاجان التي أجرت مقارنة بين الحالتين التركية والمصرية وعلاقة الطرق الصوفية بالسلطة بعد الإستقلال وتكوين الدول القومية، وهي مقارنة تنطبق على الحالة الأردنية فقد فضلت معظم البلاد العربية أن تضم الطرق الصوفية إلى تركيبتها السياسية الجديدة، ولا يعنى ذلك أن الطرق الصوفية لم تكن أبداً فى موقف معارضة من هذه الدول، ومن العسير فى الواقع عمل تعميم لموقف الطرق الصوفية من الدولة، فيمكن للمرء إيجاد أمثلة على الحالتين من معارضة وتأييد، وبعبارة أخرى فالمواقف السياسية للطرق الصوفية كانت تتغير وتتبدل حسب الظروف الإجتماعية والسياسية لكل بلد عبر التاريخ. ومن الممكن إيجاد أمثلة لعدة صور من ضم الطرق الصوفية فى العديد من الدول، فالطرق الصوفية محظورة فى تركيا ولكن العديد منها كون علاقات حماية مع أحزاب مختلفة بما فيها حزب «الشعب الجمهوري»، وتكيفت مع النظام الجديد لتعدد الأحزاب وأصبحت جزءا من النظام السياسي التركى، فحزب «النظام القومى»، وهو أول حزب أنشأه نجم الدين أربكان وأصدقاؤه كان فى واقع الأمر من تأسيس إحدى الجماعات النقشبندية الخالدية – فرع جوموش حنفى – بتأييد من مجموعة نورشو. واليوم فإن شخصيات هامة جداً بما فيهم رجب طيب أردوجان فى حزب «العدالة والتنمية» كانوا أعضاء فى جماعة النقشبندية.

أما فى مصر فقد حاولت الدولة دائماً أن تتدخل فى عمل الطرق الصوفية منذ العهد العثمانى، وأنشأت الدولة المجلس الأعلى للطرق الصوفية فى عام ١٨٩٥ والغرض منه مراقبة عمل هذه الطرق فى مصر، وبالرغم من مراجعة القانون عام ١٩٠٣، إلا أن الهيكل التنظيمى

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٢٨٥– مقابلة مع الشيخ عبد القادر الشيخ، شيخ الطريقة الشاذلية الفيلالية (القادرية)، بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٨٦– لمزيد من التفصيل حول دائرة قاضي القضاة ومن تولى منصب قاضي القضاة، أنظر: http://www.sjd.gov.jo/sj_history.html

محمد خضر الشنقيطي، والشيخ محمد حبيب الشنقيطي، وهم أصحاب طريقة شاذلية على الأغلب، إلا أنهم كانوا ينتهجون تصوفا فرديا ولم يؤسسوا زوايا، أما الشيخ أحمد الدباغ فقد أسس زاوية في معان[٢٨١]، وكذلك الشيخ حمزة العربي، ومحمود الراميني، ومحمد السالك الشنقيطي، وهؤلاء جميعهم صوفيون[٢٨٢]، ومع كون بطانة الأمير عبدالله ينتمون إلى الصوفية إلا أنهم أسسوا لنمط التدين الرسمي للدولة لأكسابها شرعية دينية إسلامية، وهو نمط يدافع عن سياسات الدولة ويتبناها.

ومن أبرز المؤسسات الدينية في الأردن وزارة الأوقاف والشؤرن والمقدسات الإسلامية[٢٨٣]، ومعظم من تولى حقيبة الأوقاف كانوا من الإسلاميين الوسطيين ولا يتمتعون بميول صوفية واضحة، فقد تولى الوزارة شخصيات إسلامية من كافة التوجهات الإسلامية ممن استقطبتهم الدولة واستدخلتهم في بنية الإسلام الرسمي، أما مؤسسة دائرة الإفتاء العام فقد غلب على توجهاتها التدين الصوفي، فقد تولى رئاستها منذ تأسيس الإمارة متصوفة ويعتبر الشيخ حمزة العربي وهو صوفي أول مفت تم تعيينه رسميا للمملكة بإرادة ملكية عام ١٩٤١، ومع صدور قانون الأوقاف عام ١٩٦٦ أصبح المفتي يرتبط بوزير الأوقاف، وفي عام ٢٠٠٦ صدر قانون يقضي باستقلالية دائرة الإفتاء ومنح المفتي رتبة وزير في الدولة، ومعظم من تولى منصب مفتي المملكة من المتصوفة كالشيخ محمد فال الشنقيطي، الشيخ محمد الأمين الشنقيطي، والشيخ عبدالله القلقيلي، والشيخ محمد عادل الشريف، والشيخ الدكتور نوح علي سلمان القضاة[٢٨٤]، وقد هيمن التوجه الصوفي على مؤسسة الإفتاء داخل المؤسسة العسكرية فقد تولى منصب

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٢٨١- مقابلة مع الشيخ أمين الكيلاني، شيخ الطريقة النقشبندي والقادرية، بتاريخ ١٥ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٨٢- مقابلة مع الشيخ حماد عثمان أبو عواد، الطريقة الشاذلية القادرية، وخطيب مسجد، بتاريخ ٣٠ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٨٣- لمزيد من التفصيل حول نشأة وزارة الأوقاف والقوانين المنظمة لعملها وتاريخها، أنظر الموقع الرسمي للوزارة على الرابط: http://www.awqaf.gov.jo/pages.php?menu_id=10&local_type=0&local_id=0&local_details=0&local_details1=0&localsite_branchname=Awqaf

٢٨٤- لمزيد من التفصيل حول دائرة الإفتاء، أنظر الموقع الرسمي للدائرة على الرابط: http://www.aliftaa.jo/index.php/pages/view/id/41

وكانت الطرق تتبع بيئاتها الجغرافية والحضارية في إطار الدولة العثمانية فجميع الطرق الصوفية في الأردن جائت من العالمين العربي والإسلامي وخصوصا العراق والمغرب وسوريا وفلسطين، وبذلك فهي تتبع في مواقفها شيوخها في الخارج.

عقب أفول الحقبة الكولينيالية وتحقيق الاستقلال وقيام الدولة الوطنية في العالم العربي عمدت معظم الأنظمة القطرية على اختلاف منظوماتها السياسية والثقافية على استدخال الصوفية في أجهزتها الأيديولوجية، وعملت على دعمها وإسنادها ومأسستها، وذلك لتوظيفها في مواجهة حركات الإسلام السياسي والحركي الصاعدة ولتثبيت شرعيتها[٢٧٩]، وقد تنبه لذلك الباحث الفرنسي إريك جيوفروي المختص في الصوفية بالقول: «إننا نجد أن الأنظمة العربية عملت على إدماج الصوفية في الحكم بهدف محاربة الظاهرة الإسلامية فوزير الأوقاف المغربي أحمد التوفيق صوفي كما أن الشيخ أحمد الطيب في مصر – وهو خلوتي – أصبح رئيس جامعة الأزهر بعد أن كان مفيتا للديار المصرية وفي الجزائر نجد أن بوتفليقة قريب جدا من الصوفية وهو ما برز في حملته الأخيرة»[٢٨٠].

وفي الأردن عملت الدولة على استدخال الصوفية في أجهزتها منذ تأسيس الإمارة على يد الأمير عبدالله بن الحسين عام ١٩٢١م، وعلى الرغم من انتماء الأمير إلى النسب النبوي الهاشمي إلا أنه تبنى نهجا علمانيا محافظا يستند إلى رؤية قومية ليبرالية للدولة، يشكل الدين الإسلامي أحد أبعاد هويته وليس قوامها، وبحسب تصور الدولة للدين الإسلامي فهو دين وسطي معتدل لا يتوافر على اهتمامات جهادية عنفية أو سياسية حركية، وينطبق هذا الوصف على الدين بتمثيلاته الصوفية، ولذلك نجد أن معظم الشيوخ الذين قدموا مع الأمير عبدالله وأنشأوا المؤسسة الدينيةكانوا ينتمون إما إلى السلفية الإصلاحية القريبة من الصوفية كالشيخ كامل القصاب وفؤاد الخطيب، وإما إلى الصوفية الصريحة وينتسبون إلى طرقها أمثال: الشيخ

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٢٧٩– عمل جمال عبد الناصر على استدخال الصوفية عقب ثورة ٢٣يوليو ١٩٥٢، في سياق مواجهة الإخوان المسلمين، وسار على نهجه أنور السادات ثم حسني مبارك، لمزيد من التفصيل أنظر: د. عمار علي حسن، التنشئة السياسية للطرق الصوفية في مصر، دار العين، القاهرة، الطبعة الأولى ٢٠٠٩، ص١٧٩–١٨٥.

٢٨٠– مستشرق فرنسي، الصوفية هي الحل، على الرابط:
http://islamyun.net/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=45

رافقها من قلق روحي ومظالم اجتماعية وتفاوت فاحش بين الناس أدى الى تنمية روح الورع والزهد[٢٧٦]، وبهذا فالصوفية تعبر عن موقف سياسي بمستوياته الدنيا، ولعل تتبع مسارات التصوف تكشف عن تحولات عميقة في بنيتها وتكوينها وعلاقتها بالسلطة، فقد تحولت من تجربة شخصية ذات طبيعة نخبوية الى ظاهرة اجتماعية منذ القرن الحادي عشر الميلادي، واستقرت تصوفا طرقيا شعبيا منذ القرن السابع عشر، ولم يكن للصوفية ان تستمر وتزدهر دون مساندة السلطة ورعايتها ولم تكن السلطة لتحافظ على استقرارها دون تأييد الصوفية، فقد حكمت معادلة «الولاء / الرعاية» العلاقة بين الطرفين، إلا أن هذه المعادلة لم تكن آلية مطردة فالسلوك السياسي للطرق الصوفية تاريخيا كان متأرجحا بين المعارضة والموالاة، كما أن السلطة السياسية تبنت سلوكا مماثلا، ومع ذلك فإن الصوفية لم تتلبس تاريخيا بتقاليد النزاع والصراع على السلطة، أما في حال دخول قوات احتلال لبلدان إسلامية كما حصل إبان المرحلة الاستعمارية فإن الاختلاف بين الطرق يصل حد التناقض بين من يتبنى المقاومة والجهاد وبين من يتبنى الموالاة والركون للإدارة الاستعمارية، ففي مصر انقسمت مواقف الطرق الصوفية من الاستعمار البريطاني فالطريقة الأحمدية تعاونت أما الطريقة العزمية فقاومت، وفي السودان ساندت المرغنية والختمية الاحتلال وتبنت الطريقة المهدوية المقاومة والجهاد[٢٧٧]، وفي ليبيا تواطئت معظم الطرق الصوفية مع الاستعمار الايطالي وتصدت السنوسية بقيادة شيخها عمر المختار، وفي الجزائر برز الأمير عبد القادر وهو زعيم الطريقة القادرية في التصدي للاستعمار الفرنسي إلى جانب الطريقتين الرحمانية السنوسية والدرقاوية الطيبية، فيما وقفت الطريقة التيجانية إلى جانب الإدارة الاستعمارية، ويتكرر مشهد الولاء والمعارضة الصوفي في كافة الأقطار العربية والاسلامية التي خضعت للقوة الاستعمارية[٢٧٨].

أما في الأردن فلم تشهد الطرق الصوفية مواقف مماثلة نظرا لضعفها خلال الحقبة الاستعمارية، ونظرا لكون الهوية الوطنية الأردنية لم تكن تتمتع بالاستقلالية في طور تشكلها

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٢٧٦- أنظر: محمد بن الطيب، إسلام المتصوفة، دار الطليعة، الطبعة الاولى، بيروت، ٢٠٠٧، ص١٧.

٢٧٧- أنظر: عمار علي حسن، الصوفية والسياسة في مصر،مركز المحروسة، المعادي، الطبعة الأولى،١٩٩٧، ص٩٧.

٢٧٨- أنظر: عبد المجيد عنتر، الطرق الصوفية والاستعمار، على الرابط:
http://news13dz.blogspot.com/2010/12/blog-post_11.html

وضعيَّة الفرد، وإحداث التَّحولات اللَّازمة في المجتمع، وبهذا المعنى تمارس الصوفية السياسة بمعناها التوعوي العام، وتتفاوت مواقف الطرق الصوفية في الأردن في النظر إلى السياسة تبعا لمواقف شيوخها ولا تتوافر على مواقف موحدة، فالشيخ محمد سغيد الكردي والذي يعتبر أحد الآباء المؤسسين للتصوف في الأردن لم تكن له أي علاقة بالسياسة والسلطة وتوجهت اهتماماته على التربية والتعليم[٢٧١]، وبحسب الدكتور عادل السيد مجيد فإن الطرق الصوفية في الأردن وفي كل مكان تهتم بتزكية النفس، وليس لها علاقة بالأمور السلطوية[٢٧٢]. ويؤكد على ذلك الشيخ حسني الشريف بقوله: ليس لنا عمل في السياسة لا من قريب ولا من بعيد، ونعمل فقط على صلاح الفرد الذي إذا صلح؛ صلح المجتمع، وشعارنا نعوذ بالله من الشيطان والسياسة[٢٧٣]. وكذلك الشيخ محمد المصلح الذي يقول: لا نتدخل في السياسة ولا في كل البشر، فنحن علاقتنا مع الله فقط، والسياسة تياسة، كما كان يقول شيخنا التيجاني[٢٧٤].

ويبدو أن الصوفية في الأردن بكافة طرقها تنظر إلى التَّسْيِيس باعتبارها آفةً تضرُّ بالحركة، إصلاحيَّة كانت أم ثوريَّة، وذلك أنَّه يَجُرُّها من حيث لا تشعر إلى ألوانٍ من التَّصارع والتَّغالب والتَّحاقد والتَّكايد، الأمر الذي ينحرف بها عن المجرى الإنسانيّ الذي ربما كانت تخطِّط في البداية للسَّير فيه، وعلى الرغم من التنافر الظاهر بين الصوفية باعتبارها ثورة روحية تسعى الى اصلاح النفس وتهذيبها وتزكيتها وتخليتها من الرذائل وتحليتها بالفضائل ابتغاء الوصول الى كمال الايمان ودرجة الاحسان[٢٧٥]، وتعمل على الاشتغال بالاخرة، كحركة دينية استندت في مشروعيتها على العامل الديني والمصادر الاسلامية التأسيسة التي تدعو الى الزهد واخلاص العبودية لله؛ إلا أن نشأتها وتأسيسها تشير الى أسباب أخرى سياسية واجتماعية وثقافية، فقد تبلورت تاريخيا مع ما شهده الاسلام المبكر من فوضى سياسية وفتن وحروب داخلية وما

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٢٧١- مقابلة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي، شيخ الطريقة الشاذلية الهاشمية، بتاريخ ١٢ / ٤ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٧٢- مقابلة مع الدكتور عادل السيد مجيد، قادري كسنزاني، بتاريخ ٣٠ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٧٣- مقابلة مع الشيخ حسني الشريف، شيخ الطريقة الخلوتية، بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٧٤- مقابلة مع الشيخ محمد محمود المصلح (أبو صلاح)، شيخ الطريقة التيجانية، بتاريخ ٢٩ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٧٥- أنظر: عبد الباري الندوي، بين التصوف والحياة، الطبعة الاولى، دمشق، ١٩٦٣، ص٦-٧.

لا تتوافر الصوفية على اشتغالات سياسية مباشرة، فقد استندت منذ نشأتها على مبادئ روحية تعبر عن موقف سياسي من السلطة، فقد جرى استخدام مصطلح «السِّياسة» للدَّلالة على تدبير الأمور الدُّنيوية للمدينة أو المجتمع، ثم اختصَّ بعد ذلك بالدَّلالة على معاني تدبير الشُّؤون الرِّئاسية للمدينة أو المجتمع، والمقصود بالرِّئاسيَّة كلُّ ماله تعلقٌ بممارسة السُّلطة على أيِّ مستوى من مستويات المدينة أو المجتمع، إلَّا أنَّ هذا اللَّفظ اتَّخذ مع التَّسْيِيس مدلولاً أخصّ؛ هو تدبير الشُّؤون الرِّئاسيَّة للمجتمع مع اعتبارها كلَّ شيء، ومحيطة بكل شيء، ولا شيء فوقها، ولما كانت هذه الشُّؤون الرئاسية والسُّلطويَّة من جهة مكاسب ماديَّة صرفة، وربما أكثر المكاسب تغلغلاً في الماديات، أو كانت هذه المكاسب من جهةٍ ثانيةٍ مبلغ علم المتسييس ومنتهى مطمعه، أدركنا لماذا لا يترك المتسييس الالتجاء إلى أيِّ معنًى يخرج عن المادة، ويرفع همة الإنسان إلى تجاوزِ حالة كالمعنى الروحي، بل ويستنكف عن طلب هذا المعنى من مصدر وصفه العلو والتعالي[٢٧٠].

وبهذا؛ فإن التَّسْيِيس يختلف عن الوعي السِّياسيّ الذي يعمل على تبصير الإنسان بطرائق مستوفية لمقتضيات المنهج العلميّ بالأسباب والكيفيَّات التي يتحدَّد بها وضعه ضمنَ بُنْيةٍ نظاميَّة معنيَّة، وتنبيهه إلى الوُجُوه والآثار السُّلطويَّة لكلِّ تصرُّفٍ يأتي به في اتجاه موافقٍ أو مخالفٍ لمقومات البنية النظامية التي ينتمي إليها، فالتَّسْيِيس يمنعُ من دخول أيِّ عاملٍ غير العاملِ السِّياسيِّ في تحديد الفرد، وفي تحقيق ما يلزم المجتمع من الإصلاح أو التَّغْيير، بينما الشَّرعيَّة السِّياسيّة لا تمنع من دخولِ عوامل غير سياسيَّةٍ تساهم مع العامل السِّياسيّ في تعيين

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٢٧٠- د. طه عبد الرحمن، العمل الديني وتجديد العقل، المركز الثقافي العربي، بيروت، الطبعة الثانية، ١٩٩٧، ص١٠٤.

التسييس والتأنيس، الروحي والزمني

خلّف الدادسي في الأردن:

الشيخ محمد محمود المصلح، المعروف بأبي صلاح التيجاني، من مواليد العباسية بفلسطين عام ١٩٣٢م. قدم إلى الأردن في الخمسينيات، واستقر بالقرب من مسجد المحطة بوسط العاصمة عمان. وقد حظي بزيارة الشيخ أحمد الدادسي في أريحا عام ١٩٥٩ وأخذ عنه الطريقة التيجانية. والتقى في الجزائر بالشيخ محمد أحمد التيجاني المقيم في مصر، وأخذ عنه الطريقة أيضاً. ويعمل الشيخ في مهنة تصليح الأحذية، وله زاوية بالقرب من مسجد المحطة بعمان حيث يقطن، تُقام فيها الحضرة بعد صلاة عصر كل جمعة[٢٦٧].

ومن شيوخ الطريقة التيجانية في الأردن:

الشيخ منصور اليماني. رئيس الرابطة اليمنية في الأردن. من مواليد عام ١٩٥٩م. وتخرج من الجامعة العربية ببيروت عام ١٩٨٢م. وله زاوية في منطقة طبربور بعمّان[٢٦٨].

ويشار إلى أن الشيخ السوري علي الدقر (ت: ١٩٤٣م) سلّك مجموعة من شيوخ الأردن على الطريقة التيجانية، ولكنهم لم يقوموا بإنشاء زوايا في البلاد، منهم الشيخ علي سلمان القضاة، والشيخ يوسف العتوم، وغيرهما[٢٦٩].

٢٦٧- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ محمد محمود المصلح، بتاريخ ٢٩ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٦٨- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي، بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م. وانظر صفحة الشيخ منصور اليماني على الفيس بوك، الرابط: http://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100002122878382&sk=wall.

٢٦٩- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي، بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

ثامنا: الطريقة التيجانية

تعتبر الطريقة التيجانية أحد مظاهر التجديد الصوفي، وهي تنتسب إلى الشيخ أحمد التيجاني (ت١٢٣٠ه / ١٨١٥م)، وهو من منطقة تلمسان، ودرس العلوم الإسلامية في فاس، وأخذ التصوف بطرق صوفية عديدة، وزعم أنه رأى الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم سنة ١٧٨٢م في المنام يامره بتأسيس طريقة خاصة وادعى انه خاتم الأولياء، وهو يعتبر التيجانية متممة للطرق الصوفية السابقة ومتفوقة عليها، ومنع مريديه من الانتماء للطرق الأخرى وقال أن من انسلخ عن طريقته وعصى أمره عجلت له العقوبة الإلهية وقد يتعرض للموت، وهو ما أثار عليه الفقهاء والمتصوفة معا، وتمتع التيجاني برعاية الأسرة المالكة منذ كان في فاس وتمكن من نشر طريقته في المغرب وتأسيس شبكة واسعة، وهو على غرار شيوخ الشاذلية لم يلزم تلاميذه بالتخلي عن طيبات الدنيا، إلا أنه دعاهم إلى الاستكثار من الشكر على النعم، وكان هو بنفسه يعيش في بحبوحة ورغد، وقد انتشرت التيجانية بعد موته في افريقيا الغربية المسلمة (السنغال وغينيا ومالي)، بفضل جهود أتباعه من أمثال عمر طال (ت١٢٨٠ه / ١٨٦٤م)، وتمكنت التيجانية من تاسيس دولة إسلامية أطاح بها الفرنسيون سنة ١٨٩٣م، وقد أدخل الطريقة إلى السودان الداعي الموريتاني محمد بن المختار (ت١٢٩٩ه / ١٨٨٢م)، وانتشرت بشكل واسع، وتعد التيجانية كبرى الطرق الصوفية في إفريقيا جنوب الصحراء. مقر الخلافة العامة للطريقة موجود في عين ماضي التي منها انتشرت الطريقة إلى عموم إفريقيا[٢٦٥].

دخلت الطريقة التيجانية إلى الأردن على يدي شيخ مغربي اسمه أحمد الدادسي. وكان للدادسي درس ثابت في المسجد الأقصى، وأنشأ الزاوية التيجانية قبالة مسجد الصخرة المشرفة، وقد بقيت عامرة بالذكر حتى الخمسينيات من القرن الماضي. وبعدها انتقل إلى مدينة أريحا حيث سكن هناك واشتغل في الزراعة على اختلاف أنواعها، وكان له فيها أراض شاسعة. وكان الدادسي يأتي إلى الأردن في زيارات متقطعة يلتفّ فيها حوله المريدون. وقد توفي في مطلع الثمانينيات، ودُفن في مقبرة الرحمة بالقدس[٢٦٦].

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٢٦٥- موقع الطريقة التيجانية، الرابط: .http://www.tidjania.ma/index.php

٢٦٦- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ محمد محمود المصلح، بتاريخ ٢٩ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م. وانظر موقع المعارف التيجانية، الرابط: .http://almaareftijania.forumsfree.org/forum

الشيخ محمد أمين فهيم مصطفى الكيلاني، وهو ابن شقيق الشيخ عبد الحليم وصهره. ولد في السلط عام ١٩٢٦م. وكان والده الشيخ فهيم (ت: ١٩٤٢م) صوفياً شاذلياً، وسمّاه (محمد أمين) على اسم شيخه الشاذلي محمد أمين القُذُف، وعلى يد والده تلقى الشيخ محمد أمين الكيلاني الطريقة الشاذلية. وأخذ الطريقة النقشبندية على يد عمه الشيخ عبد الحليم الكيلاني، وأسس مدرسة إسلامية في السلط عام ١٩٥٩م.

تخرج من مدرسة السلط الثانوية عام ١٩٤٦م، والتحق بكلية الشريعة في جامعة دمشق عام ١٩٥٦م. وعُين مديراً لمدرسة السلط الثانوية عام ١٩٦٦م، ومستشاراً لوزير التربية عام ١٩٨١م، ومديراً لكلية المجتمع الأردني عام ١٩٨٥م، ومديراً لمدرسة علي بن أبي طالب الثانوية الشرعية عام ١٩٩١م، ومفتياً لمحافظة البلقاء عام ١٩٧١م. وكان على علاقة تنظيمية بجماعة الإخوان المسلمين، ونائباً لممثل الجماعة في السلط الشيخ عبد الحليم الكيلاني. وقد نشرت له الصحف المحلية العديد من المقالات، وله كتاب بعنوان «إنصاف المرأة في الإسلام».

لا يوجد له ولا لغيره زوايا في السلط ولا في غيرها من المدن الأردنية، ويقيم حلقة الذكر في ديوان آل الكيلاني الكائن في السلط.

٢- الطريقة النقشبندية الكيلانية

وتُنسب الكيلانية أو القادرية إلى الشيخ عبد القادر الكيلاني أو الجيلاني (ت: ١١٦٦م)، وهو الإمام الصوفي المعروف، والفقيه الحنبلي، الذي يُلقَّب بـ«تاج العارفين» و«محيي الدين»، و«شيخ الشيوخ».

ومن شيوخ النقشبندية الكيلانية في الأردن:

الشيخ عبد الحليم مصطفى الكيلاني، من مواليد السلط عام ١٨٨٨م. ولم يتسنّ له أخذ الطريقة القادرية على يد والده الشيخ مصطفى الكيلاني (ت: ١٨٩١م) لأنه توفي ولمّا يتجاوز عمر الشيخ عبد الحليم الخمس سنوات. وكان مفتيا لمدينة السلط ومعلم للقرآن والتربية الإسلامية في مدرستها الثانوية.

أنشأ داراً لتعليم القرآن الكريم؛ وبقي يعلم فيها أبناء السلط صغاراً وكباراً لمدة خمسين عاماً أو أكثر، وقلّما تجد من أبناء السلط في ذلك الوقت من لم يدرس على يديه، فكان يعلم القرآن مع القراءة والكتابة[٢٦٣].

أخذ الطريقة الشاذلية على يد الشيخ محمد أمين القُذف الذي قدم إلى السلط عام ١٩١٠م والتف حوله الناس بالعشرات يأخذون عنه الطريقة.

وعندما قدم من دمشق الشيخ نعمة الله النقشبندي، جالسه الشيخ عبد الحليم وتأثر به، فأخذ عنه الطريقة النقشبندية، وأخذ العهد النقشبندي أيضاً عن الشيخ الدمشقي إسماعيل الحصاري. وكان الشيخ عبد الحليم ممثلاً لجماعة الإخوان المسلمين في السلط، وحصلت بينه وبين مؤسس جماعة الإخوان المسلمين حسن البنا مراسلات[٢٦٤]. وقد توفي الشيخ عبد الحليم عام ١٩٦٨م، مخلفاً وراءه في الطريقة:

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٢٦٣- موقع ويكيبيديا الإخوان المسلمون، الرابط:
http://www.ikhwanwiki.com/index.php?title=إبراهيم_زيد_الكيلاني

٢٦٤- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ محمد أمين الكيلاني، بتاريخ ١٥ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

ويذكر موقع الطريقة النقشبندية الحقانية على شبكة الإنترنت أنه في عام ١٩٥٥م؛ أصدر الشيخ عبد الله الداغستاني أمره للحقاني بالخلوة للمرة الأولى، وذلك في منطقة صويلح بعمّان، وكانت مدة هذه الخلوة ستة أشهر، وقد التف حول الحقاني في تلك الفترة مريدون كثر.

بعد وفاة الشيخ عبدالله الداغستاني؛ آل أمر الطريقة إلى الشيخ ناظم الحقاني، فأناب عدداً من الشيوخ في عدة دول، وكان نائبه في الأردن هو:

الشيخ عبد السلام توفيق أحمد شمسي. من مواليد قرية كفر كنة القريبة من مدينة الجليل في فلسطين عام ١٩٣٤م. وبعد أن اشتد عوده سافر إلى تركيا ومكث فيها سبع سنوات، ومنها إلى دمشق الشام حيث تعرف عام ١٩٦٣م على الشيخ عبدالله الداغستاني وعمل خادماً له لمدة عشر سنوات.

قدم إلى الأردن عام ١٩٩٨م بأمر من الشيخ ناظم الحقاني، وأقام فيها زاوية في مسجد أبو شام في منطقة جبل عمان، ويقيم فيها مجلساً للذكر بعد صلاة العشاء من كل يوم خميس[٢٦٢].

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٢٦٢- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عبد السلام توفيق أحمد شمسي، بتاريخ ٢٧ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

١– الطريقة النقشبندية الحقانية

وتُنسب الحقانية إلى الشيخ محمد ناظم عادل الحقاني النقشبندي[٢٦١]. من مواليد لارنكا بقبرص في عام ١٩٢٢م. تلقى من والده الطريقة القادرية، ومن جده لأمه تلقى الطريقة المولوية. بدأ بدراسة الهندسة الكيميائية في جامعة اسطنبول عام ١٩٤٠م، وبنفس الوقت كان يتقدم في علوم الشريعة واللغة العربية عن طريق الشيخ جمال الدين الآسوني (ت: ١٩٤٥م).

وفي اسطنبول اتصل الحقاني بشيخ النقشبندية آنذاك سليمان أرضرومى (ت: ١٩٤٨م) وسلك عليه الطريقة النقشبندية، وقد شجّعه شيخه للحضور إلى سورية، فزار حلب وحماة، وحمص حيث جاور مدة سنة عند ضريح الصحابي خالد بن الوليد. وفى حمص تابع تحصيله للعلوم الشرعية على مشاهير علمائها، منهم محمد على عيون السود، وأمين فتوى حمص عبدالعزيز عيون السود،، وعبد الجليل مراد، وسعيد السباعي النقشبندي، وغيرهم.

وفي عام ١٩٤٤م انتقل الشيخ ناظم إلى طرابلس حيث نزل ضيفاً عند شيخ مشايخ الطرق الصوفية فيها آنذاك منير الملك. وفي عام ١٩٤٥م توجه إلى دمشق حيث التقى بالشيخ عبدالله فائز الداغستاني النقشبندي (ت: ١٩٧٣م) فلازمه وأتم سلوكه على يديه. وبعد أخذ المبادئ من الشيخ عبد الله الداغستاني، وتلقي بعض تمارين الطريقة؛ أُمر الحقاني بالعودة فوراً إلى بلده قبرص، وتنفيذاً لأوامر شيخه انطلق فوراً عائداً لوطنه الذي غادره منذ خمس سنوات. وبدأ بنشر الطريقة في قبرص، حيث تجمّع حوله أعداد كبيرة من المريدين وتقبلوا الطريقة النقشبندية.

وكان خلال فترة إقامته بقبرص يسافر في أنحاء قبرص وفي تركيا ولبنان والإسكندرية والقاهرة والسعودية وأقطار أخرى لنشر الطريقة النقشبندية. وعاد إلى دمشق عام ١٩٥٢ وأقام فيها لسنوات عديدة كان خلالها يزور قبرص ثلاثة أشهر بالعام. وله رحلات إلى بريطانيا وأمريكا أسفرت عن تأسيس أكثر من ١٥ مركزاً للطريقة النقشبندية في شمال أمريكا، أهمها مركز (Michigan Fenton in Center Retreat and Convention Haqqani) الذي يُعد المقر الرئيس للنقشبندية في شمال أمريكا.

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٢٦١– أنظر ترجمته في الموقع الرسمي للطريقة النقشبندية الحقانية المسمى شمس الشموس، ورابطه هو: .http://www.alhaqqani.com

شهدت الطريقة النقشبندية عددا من الأعلام المجددين أمثال مولانا خالد النقشبندي (ت١٢٤٢ه / ١٨٢٧م)، وهو من أصل كردي استقر في دمشق وتبنى الخط الإصلاحي لأحمد السرهندي، وأغنى الطريقة بطرق تعليمية جديدة ودعى إلى الالتزام لأحكم الشريعة، ومن أبرز تلاميذه الفقيه الحنفي الكبير ابن عابدين (ت١٢٥١ه / ١٨٣٦م)، وامتد تاثير النقشبندية الخالدية في القوقاز وقد عملت على تنظيم المقاومة المسلحة ضد الاجتياح الروسي، ويعتبر الإمام شامل (ت١٢٧٥ه / ١٨٥٩م)، من أبرز رموز المقاومة وكان وفيا للشيخ خالد النقشبندي حتى وفاته. وتنقسم الطريقة النقشبندية في الأردن إلى قسمين: النقشبندية الحقانية، والنقشبندية الكيلانية.

سابعا: الطريقة النقشبندية

تعتبر الطريقة الأبرز والأكثر انتشارا في آسيا الوسطى، وهي طريقة حافظت على توجهها السني ومواجهة التشيّع، وتعتبر نفسها وريثة مباشرة للروحانية الخراسانية والمدرسة الملامتية التي ارتبطت بها، وهي تعتني بالزهد والورع وإصلاح الباطن، وقد انتظمت برعاية بهاء الدين نقشبند (ت ٧٩١ه / ١٣٨٩م)، إلا أن النقشبندية يعتبرون عبد الخالق الغجدواني شيخ الطريقة الحقيقي، فهو الذي أدخل فيها سنة الموظبة على الذكر الباطني أو «ذكر القلب» اقتداءا بأبي بكر الصديق، وأصبح هذا النوع من الذكر علامة مميزة للطريقة، وقد وضع اتباع النقشبندية مجموعة من القواعد يمارسونها، وهي موجودة في التصوف مثل: «مراقبة الخطوات» و«محاسبة النفس» و«الخلوة في الجلوة» وغيرها. ويقول أصحاب الطريقة إن طريقتهم تسمى «الصديقية» نسبة إلى أبي بكر الصديق[٢٥٩].

ويقوم مبدأ الطريقة على مراعاة الانسجام بين الشرع والسلوك ولذلك استطاعت المحافظة على التسنن لدى مسلمي آسيا الوسطى، وبفضل الشيخ الخواجة أحرار (ت٨٩٥ه / ١٤٩٠م)، تمكنت من الهيمنة على طرق الصوفية الأخرى خلال القرن التاسع هجري، فقد عمل على تأسيس شبكة اقتصادية واسعة لحماية الفلاحين من الضرائب الظالمة ودعى الساسة لاحترام تعاليم الإسلام، واستطاعت النقشبندية الوصول إلى القوقاز وكردستان والأناضول ونالت الحظوة عند سلاطين آل عثمان، وامتد أثرها إلى العالم العربي ووصلت إلى الهند بفضل مجدد الألف الثانية للهجرة أحمد السرهندي (ت١٠٣٢ه / ١٦٢٤م)، وأصبح كتابه «المكتوبات» موضع تدبر النقشبندية حتى الوقت الراهن، وهو يؤكد على العودة إلى الشرع ويدعو إلى الاقتداء بالنبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم وتمكن من إلزام الساسة بتطبيق الأحكام الفقهية، وامتد منذ بداية القرن الحادي عشر الهجري فرع المجددية التابع للسرهندي من الانتشار في الصين والجزيرة العربية وأندونيسيا ولا زالت هذه الطريقة من أكثر الطرق انتشارا في العالم الإسلامي. وتنتشر الطريقة في معظم البلاد العربية خصوصاً في العراق وبلاد الشام[٢٦٠].

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٢٥٩- كتاب الطريقة النقشبندية وأعلامها للدكتور محمد أحمد درنيقة، ضمن سلسلة التصوف الإسلامي، طبع جروس برس، ص١٠.

٢٦٠- أنظر كتاب الطريقة النقشبندية وأعلامها، للدكتور محمد أحمد درنيقة، ضمن سلسلة التصوف الإسلامي، طبع جروس برس، ص٥٥.

تقوم الطريقة في مقرها الرئيسي في فلسطين على نشر العلم والثقافة، وقد سلكت لتحقيق ذلك عدة وسائل، كإنشاء الزوايا، واقامة الدورات لتعليم العلوم الشرعية، وانشاء المكتبات، كمكتبة أكاديمية القاسمي، وتشجع التصنيف والتأليف في شتى فنون المعرفة، وتتبنى ابتعاث بعض الأفراد إلى المؤسسات التعليمية للحصول على الشهادات الجامعية العليا، وقد تُوِّجَ ذلك كله بانشاء أكاديمية القاسمي التي اهتمت بنشر العلم والمعرفة في مختلف التخصصات، وإنشاء الكلية التكنولوجية استجابة لمتطلبات عصر المعلوماتية والتكنولوجيا، وسعت لتحقيق هذه الغاية لإقامة المراكز البحثية والمختبرات العلمية، وانشاء مدرسة القاسمي الثانوية للتميز، وهي مدرسة قطرية بإشراف أكاديمية القاسمي، وتم افتتاح راديو القاسمي التربوي الذي ينطلق بثه من حرم أكاديمية القاسمي. وأنشأت المجمع الثقافي، وافتتحت روضات رياض الصالحين النموذجية، وتقيم المؤتمرات في مختلف الفنون داخل الاكاديمية وتوفد بعض أعضائها للمشاركة في المؤتمرات العالمية، وتسعى لعقد ندوات في مناسبات متعددة للتفاعل مع المجتمع، وأصدرت مجلة «جامعة» وهي مجلة علمية مُحَكَّمَة.

٢- الطريقة القاسمية الخلوتية الجامعة

تُنسب القاسمية إلى الشيخ حسني الدين القاسمي (ت: ١٩٤٤م) الذي استلم شؤون الطريقة في الخليل بعد وفاة الشيخ خير الدين الشريف، وكان القاسمي قد تلقى العهد والإجازة في الطريقة على يد الشيخ حسن حسين عمرو (ت: ١٩١٩م)[٢٥٥] والذي يُعدّ شيخ الطريقة الذي أخذ عنه الشيخ خير الدين الشريف[٢٥٦].

بعد وفاة الشيخ حسني الدين؛ تسلّم الطريقة الشيخ عبد الحي القاسمي (ت: ١٩٦٢م) الذي كان هاجر إلى مدينة إربد الأردنية بعد نكبة عام ١٩٤٨م. وفي عهده تم افتتاح زاوية للطريقة في مدينة الزرقاء عام ١٩٦٠م[٢٥٧]. واستلم بعده الطريقة الشيخ ياسين القاسمي (ت: ١٩٨٦م) وكان يقوم في الثمانينيات بزيارات متقطعة إلى مريديه في مدينة الزرقاء، وقام بإنشاء زاوية للطريقة في منطقة بيادر وادي السير بعمّان عام ١٩٨٤م، وكانت تسمى «زاوية أتباع الشريف»[٢٥٨]. ثم استلم الطريقة بعده الشيخ محمد جميل القاسمي (ت: ١٩٨٨م)، ثم الشيخ عفيف القاسمي (ت: ١٩٩٨م)، ثم استلم الإرشاد في الطريقة الشيخ عبد الرؤوف القاسمي، وذلك عام ١٩٩٨م، وما زال على رأس الطريقة. ويقيم الشيخ عبد الرؤوف القاسمي في مدينة الخليل بفلسطين، ويتردد على مريديه في الأردن بين فينة وأخرى.

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٢٥٥- كان لأحفاده زاوية في الزرقاء يتعاونون في الإشراف عليها مع أتباع القاسمي، ولكنهم طلبوا من الشيخ حسني الشريف استلامها في عام ٢٠٠٣ بحجة أن القاسمي عنده انحرافات، فحاول أتباع القاسمي استرجاعها، ووسطوا في سبيل ذلك وزارة الأوقاف التي قررت الإشراف عليها وتحويلها إلى مسجد. (مقابلة خاصة مع سلطان الأسود بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م).

٢٥٦- أنظر موقع طريقة القاسمي الخلوتية الجامعة، الرابط: http://alqasimy.com/Default.aspx.

٢٥٧- مقابلة خاصة مع الأستاذ سلطان الأسود الحموي، بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م. وانظر موقع أكاديمية القاسمي، الرابط: .http://www.qsm.ac.il

٢٥٨- مقابلة خاصة مع الأستاذ سلطان الأسود الحموي، بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م. وانظر موقع أكاديمية القاسمي، الرابط: .http://www.qsm.ac.il

رعاية الطالب الجامعي. وأسس روضة ومدرسة الدرة الشريفة في عمّان على طريق المطار، يدرس فيها الطالب للصف السابع[٢٥٤]. وله عدة مؤلفات، من أهمها: «الدلالة النورانية» و«التقريب بين المدارس الإسلامية ودور التصوف فيه».

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٢٥٤- مقابلة خاصة مع وكيل الشيخ حسني الشريف في الأردن، الأستاذ سلطان الأسود الحموي، بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م. وانظر موقع الطريقة الخلوتية الجامعة الرحمانية، الرابط: http://www.daraleman.org.

١- الطريقة الخلوتية الجامعة الرحمانية

عندما توفي الشيخ عبدالرحمن الشريف؛ كان ابنه الشيخ حسن الشريف لم يتجاوز من العمر السنتين بعد، فقد وُلد في الخليل عام ١٩٢٦م، أي قبل وفاة والده بسنتين. وقد تلقى الشيخ تعاليم الطريقة عن أعمامه وغيرهم من مريدي الشيخ خير الدين. ودرس في مدينة الخليل، وعمل في حقل التعليم. ثم خرج من فلسطين عام ١٩٥١م متوجهاً إلى منطقة وادي السير في الأردن، وأسس فيها مدرسة النجاح الوطنية وعمل مدرساً فيها. وعمل إماماً وخطيباً في مساجد وادي السير بين أعوام ١٩٦٠ إلى ١٩٨٤م. وكان يسلّك على الطريقة الخلوتية الجامعة الرحمانية في الأردن إلى أن توفاه الله تعالى عام ١٩٨٤م، ودُفن في مقبرة وادي السير بعمّان[٢٥٢].

خلف الشيخ عبدالرحمن في الطريقة: ولده الشيخ حسني الشريف. وهو من مواليد مدينة عمّان سنة ١٩٦٤م، وتلقى علومه الأساسية في مدارسها، وحاصل على شهادة البكالوريوس في قسم الدراسات الإسلامية. وقد لازم والده منذ الصغر وتلقى على يديه علوم الشريعة والحقيقة والإرشاد بالتلقي والصحبة. وبعد وفاة والده بأربع سنوات[٢٥٣]؛ تم تنصيبه شيخاً للطريقة الخلوتية الجامعة الرحمانية في سنة ١٩٨٨م، وذلك في احتفال حضره شخصيات وطنية ودينية، منهم الشيخ أسعد بيوض التميمي، والشيخ عبدالحميد السائح، والأستاذ كامل الشريف، وأمين عام اللجنة الملكية لإنقاذ القدس.

أسس الشيخ حسني الشريف وقفية دار الإيمان في حي الجندويل بمنطقة البيادر في عمان عام ١٩٩٠م، وهي تحتوي على مسجد للصلاة، وزاوية للطريقة، وتكية لإطعام الطعام لعابري السبيل، ومكتبة، وهي المقر الرئيسي لجمعية دار الإيمان. كما أسس مثابة دار الإيمان في منطقة اليادودة عام ١٩٩٤م، ثم انتقلت إلى بيادر وادي السير، وتقوم المثابة برعاية الأيتام الذين لا مأوى لهم، وتشمل هذه الرعاية إصلاحهم وتعليمهم وتزويجهم. وهي تقع في عمارة من سبعة طوابق. وأسس جمعية دار الإيمان في منطقة الجندويل بعمّان عام ٢٠٠١م، ولها فرع في الأغوار. وهي تضم: تكية دار الإيمان للفقراء، ومركز دار الإيمان الثقافي، ودار القرآن الكريم، ومشروع

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٢٥٢- مقابلة خاصة مع حفيده الشيخ حسني الشريف، بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٥٣- يقول الشريف إن تأخر تنصيبه كان بسبب انشغاله بتأدية الخدمة العسكرية في الأردن. (مقابلة خاصة معه بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م).

الشريف، وهو من مدينة الخليل بفلسطين على إثر نشاطه الثوري المعارض للإنجليز، إلى منطقة الكرك في الأردن، حيث نزل في المسجد العمري بالمدينة، والتفّ حوله المريدون من أهل الكرك الذين كانوا يُجمعون على صلاحه[٢٤٧]. وبسبب احترام الناس للشيخ خير الدين وازدحامهم عليه وخضوعهم لكلمته؛ زعم الإنجليز للملك عبد الله الأول أن الشيخ خير الدين أسس إمارة داخل إمارتك، فما كان من الملك إلا أن قدم إليه وسأله عن ذلك، فقال له الشيخ: «ليس لنا أية مطامع سياسية، ولا نتطلع إلى الحكم بأي شكل من الأشكال»[٢٤٨]. إلا أن الشيخ خير الدين لم يُنشئ زاوية له في الأردن، ولم يُطل المكث فيها كثيراً، ففي عام ١٩٢٦م قصد الديار الحجازية للحج، ومنها رجع إلى مدينة الخليل إلى أن توفي فيها عام ١٩٢٨م[٢٤٩].

وخلف الشيخ خير الدين في الطريقة الشيخ محمد أبو رجب التميمي الذي خدم الطريقة حتى أواسط العقد السابع من القرن العشرين[٢٥٠]، ثم وقع خلاف داخل الطريقة الرحمانية الجامعة حول مشيخة الطريقة وإدارتها وتوجهاتها، أدى لانقسامها، وبلغ الخلاف ذروته عندما قامت طريقة القاسمي الخلوتية الجامعة بتأسيس أكاديمية تعليمية عام ١٩٨٩م في مدينة باقا الغربية بفلسطين المحتلة عام ١٩٤٨م، بترخيص من السلطات الإسرائيلية، الأمر الذي دفع الشيخ حسني الشريف إلى اتهام شيوخها بالتعاون مع إسرائيل، وبقي الخلاف محتدماً بين الشريف والقاسميين من عام ١٩٨٩م إلى عام ١٩٩٨م حيث قام القاسميون برفع اسم الرحمانية عن الطريقة، وأطلقوا عليها «طريقة القاسمي الرحمانية الجامعة»[٢٥١]. وفيما ترى الأخيرة في ذلك تكيفا مع الواقع تراه الأخرى خروجا عن توجهات الطريقة التاريخية المجاهدة، وبهذا انقسمت الطريقة إلى قسمين:

٢٤٧- مقابلة خاصة مع حفيده الشيخ حسني الشريف، بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٤٨- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ حسني الشريف، بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٤٩- أنظر كتاب «أوراد الطريقة الخلوتية الجامعة الرحمانية» للشيخ حسني الشريف، طبع في عمان، ١٩٩٠م، ص٢٦٠.

٢٥٠- كتاب «أوراد الطريقة الخلوتية الجامعة الرحمانية»، ص٢٦٧.

٢٥١- مقابلة خاصة مع حفيده الشيخ حسني الشريف، بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م. وانظر موقع أكاديمية القاسمي، الرابط: .http://www.qsm.ac.il

سادسا: الطريقة الخلوتية

أخذت الطريقة الخلوتية اسمها من «الخلوة» وهي ما يميز الطريقة التي تنتسب إلى عمر خلوتي (ت٧٩٩ه / ١٣٩٧م)، ولقب بالخلوتي لأنه أحب الاختلاء داخل جذع شجرة، ويعود الفضل لتنظيم الطريقة إلى يحيى الشرواني (ت٨٦٧ه / ١٤٦٣م)، وهو من منطقة القوقاز مهد الطريقة، فقد عمل على ترسيخ البناء الهرمي للطريقة لكثرة أتباعها، وقد اكتسبت الخلوتية ثقة سلاطين آل عثمان بعد دخولها الأناضول في نهاية القرن التاسع الهجري ثم انتشرت في سائر أنحاء البلاد الواقعة تحت سيطرت العثمانيين وخصوصا مصر ومنها انتشرت في كافة أرجاء العالم العربي ومنها الأردن، ومما يدلل على مكانتها أن السلطان العثماني محمد الفاتح كان معلمه الروحي شيخ خلوتيا، وهي طريقة حضارية ظاهرة التمسك بالسنة تقوم على التدرج في السلوك بذكر الأسماء الإلهية. وساهم محمد بن أحمد بن محمد كريم الدين الخلوتي، المتوفى في مصر سنة ١٥٧٨م، وهو من أئمة الصوفية في خراسان في القرن العاشر الهجري بنشرها وتجديدها.

ومن أبرز شيوخها المجددين الشيخ الشامي مصطفى البكري (ت١١٦٢ه / ١٧٤٩م)، الذي قام بإصلاحات واسعة في الطريقة الخلوتية ساهم في انتشارها بشكل واسع ومن تلاميذه خلال النصف الثاني من القرن الثامن عشر الشيخ حفني والشيخ الدردير وهو من علماء الأزهر، ولهذا تميزت الخلوتية بقربها من السنة وروحها التجديدية.

وقد عرف الأردن **الطريقة الخلوتية الجامعة** عن طريق الشيخ الشيخ خير الدين عبد الرحمن الشريف، وتسمى الطريقة بالجامعة؛ لكون الطريقة جمعت إلى جانب الخلوتية ثماني طرق، هي: الرفاعية، والقادرية، والأحمدية، والدسوقية، والشاذلية، واليشرطية، والنقشبندية، والإدريسية[٢٤٦]. ودخلت الطريقة إلى الأردن بعد أن نفى الإنجليز الشيخ خير الدين عبد الرحمن

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٢٤٦- كتاب «أوراد الطريقة الخلوتية الجامعة الرحمانية» للشيخ حسني الشريف، طبع في عمان، ١٩٩٠م، ص٢٦٠.

وفي موقع كلية أكاديمية القاسمي للتربية، التابعة لطريقة القاسمي الخلوتية الجامعة: «سميت بالجامعة مصداقاً لما جاء في الصحيحين من حديث أبي هريرة رضي الله عنه قال: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: (بُعِثتُ بجوامع الكلم)».

ومن أهم إنجازاته: تأسيس المركز العالمي للتصوف والدراسات الروحية في عام ١٩٩٤م، وتأسيس كلية الشيخ محمد الكسنزان الجامعة في بغداد عام ٢٠٠٥م، وتأسيس المجلس المركزي للطرق الصوفية في العراق عام ٢٠٠٥م[٢٤٤]. وتشتهر الطريقة الكسنزانية باستخدام السكاكين والرصاص الحي إظهاراً لكراماتهم لإثبات صحة طريقتهم.

دخلت الطريقة الكسنزانية إلى الأردن مع اشتداد العنف الطائفي في العراق بعد الإحتلال الأمريكي عام ٢٠٠٣م؛ حيث بدأ مريدون للشيخ محمد الكسنزان بالتوافد على الجامعات الأردنية للدراسة فيها. ومع تزايد أعدادهم وتزايد الخطر الطائفي في العراق؛ قرر الشيخ الكسنزان الانتقال إلى عمّان في عام ٢٠٠٧م. واستقر في منطقة عبدون بعمان، وأقام زاويته في منطقة ماركا الشمالية، وهي زاوية خاصة بأهل الأردن، ولا يحضر إليها مريدوه العراقيون[٢٤٥].

٢٤٤– أنظر موقع الطريقة العلية القادرية الكسنزانية، الرابط:
http://www.kasnazan.com.
وموقع التصوف الإسلامي الذي أسسه الشيخ محمد الكسنزان، الرابط:
http://www.islamic-sufism.com.

٢٤٥– مقابلة خاصة مع د. عادل السيد مجيد، بتاريخ ٢٩ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م، وهو أحد خلفاء الشيخ محمد الكسنزان في الطريقة، من مواليد العراق عام ١٩٣٨م.

خامسا: الطريقة القادرية الكسنزانية

تُنسب الطريقة الكسنزانية إلى الشيخ عبد الكريم الشاه الكسنزان الأول، وهو من مواليد عام ١٨٢٠م في قرية كسنزان التابعة لناحية (قره داغ) في محافظة السليمانية، وتوفي عام ١٨٩٩م، ومقامه في كربجنة بشمال العراق. وتسمى الطريقة بـ «الطريقة العلية القادرية الكسنزانية»، ويقع مقرها الرئيس في محافظة السليمانية بشمال العراق.

وأما اسم الكسنزان الذي يُطلق على عائلة السيد الشيخ فهو لقب أُطلق على جدهم الشيخ عبد الكريم الأول، وهي كلمة كردية تعني الشخص الذي لا يعلم. وسبب إطلاق هذا اللقب على هذا الشيخ هو أنقطاعه لمدة أربع سنوات عن الناس مختلياً للتعبّد في أحد جبال قرداغ[٢٤١]، وحينما كان يُسأل أحد الناس عن الشيخ يقول: (كسنزان) أي لا أحد يعرف. ومنذ ذلك الوقت جرى هذا اللقب على ألسنة الناس عَلَماً للطريقة العلية القادرية الكسنزانية التي تبنّى مشيختها الشيخ عبد الكريم الأول وأبناؤه وأحفاده من بعده[٢٤٢].

أما شيخها الحالي؛ فهو محمد عبد الكريم الكسنزان. ولد في قرية كربجنة التابعة لناحية سنكاو من محافظة كركوك في شمال العراق عام ١٩٣٨م. ونشأ في الطريقة منذ الصغر على يد والده الشيخ عبد الكريم الثاني (ت: ١٩٧٨م) وانتقلت إليه مشيخة الطريقة بعد وفاته مباشرة. وقد انتشرت الطريقة الكسنزانية على يديه في جميع أنحاء العراق؛ فلا تكاد تجد مدينة أو قرية إلا وللشيخ محمد الكسنزان تكية يقصدها المريدون والأتباع، بل جاوز ذلك البلدان الأخرى كإيران وتركيا والجمهوريات القوقازية والهند وباكستان والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وبعض دول أوروبا[٢٤٣]. وله عدة مؤلفات عديدة، أهمها: «الأنوار الرحمانية في الطريقة العلية القادرية الكسنزانية»، و«الطريقة العلية القادرية الكسنزانية»، و«موسوعة الكسنزان فيما أصطلح عليه أهل التصوف والعرفان».

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٢٤١- منطقة تقع في ضواحي مدينة السليمانية، وتعني الجبل الأسود.

٢٤٢- أنظر موقع الطريقة العلية القادرية الكسنزانية، الرابط:
http://www.kasnazan.com.

٢٤٣- موقع الطريقة العلية القادرية الكسنزانية، الرابط:
http://www.kasnazan.com.

القادرية في الجوفة بعمان ومقدمها الحاج أبو حسّان، والذي خلف الحاج مصطفى البيطار رحمه الله. والزاوية القادرية في مدينة إربد، ومقدمها الحاج مفلح، والذي خلف الحاج خليفة رحمه الله. والزاوية القادرية في الرصيفة، ومقدمها الحاج غالب والذي خلف الحاج صقر رحمه الله. والزاوية القادرية في الكرك، ومقدمها الشيخ عوض الطراونة. وقد أقرها جميعها بمقدميها الحاليين الشيخ أحمد النتشة والذي أوصى له الشيخ محمد هاشم البغدادي برعاية الاخوان، ويعد شيخ الطريقة الحالي في الأردن وفلسطين.

ومن أعلام القادرية الشيخ محمد هاشم بن الشيخ حسن البغدادي القادري الكيلاني (١٩٠٩–١٩٩٥)، مقدسي المولد والنشأة والاقامه، بغدادي الأصل. يتصل نسبه بالنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، وهو من أعلام التصوف في فلسطين وله أثر كبير في الأردن وعدد من التلاميذ والمريدين، وقد أجازه الشيخ محمد حبيب الله الشنقيطي بالطريقة القادرية مع قراءة الورد والمصافحة والمشابكة، وتلقى الفقه في المسجد الأقصى على يد الشخ صالح اللفتاوي، والعربية على يد الشيخ محمد التونسي، انتقل إلى الشام سنة ١٣٥٦هـ. حيث تلقى القرآن أولا من الشيخ أحمد السطل ثم من الشيخ محمد عزو الميداني ثم من الشيخ محمد الخباز ثم من الشيخ بشير الشلاح، متقن القراءات العشر الطيبة، وروى الحديث عن الشيخ محمد الديراني تلميذ الشيخ بدر الدين الحسني، ولم يخلّف بعد وفاته أحدا في الطريق، وإنما أقام الشيخ أحمد النتشة (أبو حمدي)، وهو مقدسي مقدماً يرجع إليه أبناء الطريقة في فلسطين، ومن أهم مؤلفاته: «دستور الولاية ومراقي العناية» أو: «مطلب السالك ونجاة الهالك».

ومن أبرز تلاميذه الشيخ عبد الله بن الشيخ صالح العمري (الشهير بالشيخ عبد الملك)، ولد في صندلة وهي من قرى شمال فلسطين، وقد تلقى علمه الشرعي الأولي في عكا في مسجد الشيخ الجزار وانتقل إلى الأزهر الشريف لينال درجة الماجستير في الفقه الشافعي والتربية، صحب في مصر فضيلة الشيخ صالح الجعفري شيخ الطريقة الأحمدية الإدريسية ولازمه على ما يزيد على الثماني سنوات. وبعد أن انهى دراسته في الأزهر الشريف عاد إلى القدس الشريف وكان من أبرز المدرسين في المسجد الاقصى، وأثناء إقامته في القدس الشريف صحب فضيلة الشيخ محمد هاشم البغدادي شيخ الطريقة القادرية في فلسطين، وأذن له بالإرشاد والتسليك بالطريقة القادرية بإجازة خطية، وقدمه على إخوانه للتدريس في مجلسه الشريف واستشهد به في كتابه دستور الولاية، وبعد وفاة شيخة محمد هاشم البغدادي كرس الشيخ عبد الملك نفسه لخدمة آثار شيخه فعكف على مؤلفاته تمحيصا وتدقيقا، فحقق وأعاد طباعة ديوان بغية العاشقين وكتاب دستور الولاية، وكان في طور تدقيق كتاب شرح الصلوات. توفي عام ٢٠٠٨م، وكان يداوم على زيارة الأردن، وشارك في محاولة تأسيس مجلس أعلى للتصوف في الأردن.

وهناك عدد من الزوايا للطريقة في الأردن تأسست أثناء حياة الشيخ محمد هاشم البغدادي، ويجتمع فيها أتباع الطريقة أسبوعياً وهي على النحو الآتي: الزاوية القادرية في الزرقاء، ومقدمها الشيخ عبد الحافظ، والذي خلف الحاج أكرم نواس رحمه الله. والزاوية

رابعا: الطريقة القادرية

تنسب الطريقة القادرية إلى عبد القادر الجيلاني (ت٥٦١ه/١١٦٦م) وهي من أقدم الطرق الصوفية في العالم الإسلامي ومهدها الأول العراق، والجيلاني من منطقة جيلان التي تقع في الشمال الغربي لإيران حاليا، قدم إلى بغداد ودرس الفقه الحنبلي والحديث وتعلم التصوف، ثم غادرها وعاش حياة تقشف وزهد لمدة عشرون عاما، ثم عاد بعدها إلى عاصمة الخلافة العباسية مرة أخرى وأقبل على التدريس والوعظ وحاز شهرة واسعة وجمهورا عريضا وتلاميذ كثر، وهو صاحب كتاب «الغنية لطالبي طريق الحق»، وهو كتاب يقدم عرضا لقواعد السلوك الصوفي، وقد انتشرت الطريقة القادرية انتشارا واسعا في شتى انحاء العالم الإسلامي، وخصوصا بلاد الشام والعراق ومصر وشرق أفريقيا. وقد كان لرجالها الأثر الكبير في نشر الإسلام في قارة افريقيا وآسيا، وفي الوقوف في وجه المد الأوروبي الزاحف إلى المغرب العربي[٢٣٨].

دخلت الطريقة القادرية إلى الأردن عن طريق الشيخ عبد الحليم حمد عودة القادري، وهو من مواليد قرية بُدْرُس قضاء رام الله بفلسطين عام ١٩٢٠م، وكان له زاوية. وقد قدم إلى الأردن عام ١٩٣٨م، وأقام في منطقة الشونة الجنوبية زاوية استمر نشاطه فيها حتى عام ١٩٦٦م. ثم انتقل إلى العاصمة عمّان حيث أسس زاوية في منطقة الهاشمي عام ١٩٦٦م، وما زالت تقام فيها الحضرات حتى الآن بعد صلاة العشاء من كل يوم خميس.

توفي الشيخ عبد الحليم عام ١٩٩٨م، فتولّى شؤون الطريقة من بعد ولده محمد عبد الحليم القادري. وهو من مواليد منطقة الشونة الجنوبية بالأردن، ودرس الشريعة في إحدى الكليات الشرعية في عمان لمدة عامين، ويعمل إمام مسجد، إضافة لرعاية شؤون الزاوية[٢٣٩]. وله كتاب بعنوان «الأجوبة السنية على من اعترض على السادة الصوفية»، تناول فيه الشبهات التي تثار حول طريقته ورد عليها[٢٤٠].

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٢٣٨- أنظر موقع الطريقة القادرية العلية، الرابط:
http://www.alkadria.com/html.

٢٣٩- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ محمد عبد الحليم القادري، بتاريخ ٨ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٤٠- الكتاب مطبوع في عمان عام ٢٠١٠، وليس عليه إسم لدار نشر.

٢- **الشيخ ناصر الدين الخطيب**، ولد في القدس عام ١٩٥٥م، وقدم إلى الأردن عام ١٩٦٧م. بعدما أصابه اليأس من جدوى انخراطه في التيارات القومية واليسارية، قرر الانضمام إلى صفوف جماعة التبليغ عام ١٩٧٠م، وبقي فيها لمدة سنة. وتعرف على شيخ صوفي اسمه عبد القادر الشيوخي، وبمعرفته إياه بدأت قصته مع التصوف. فتوجّه عام ١٩٧١م إلى الشيخ عبد القادر الشيخ الشاذلي القادري، ودرس على يديه عدداً من العلوم الشرعية لمدة سنة كاملة.

أسس زاوية له في جبل الزهور عام ١٩٧٣م، ثم وسّعها لتصبح مسجداً أسماه مسجد الإمام الرواس. وتعرف على الشيخ محمود شقفة من سوريا في عام ١٩٧٥م، وأخذ عنه الطريقة الرفاعية الرواسية في عام ١٩٧٦م.

أنشأ مؤسسة السمائل للاستثمارات المرئية والمسموعة، ويملك قناة الصوفية الفضائية التي أسسها لعدة أهداف:

١- إلغاء الحواجز المصطنعة بين الطرق الصوفية، كخطوة أولى نحو توحيدها.

٢- المحافظة على كيان السنّة.

٣- تجنيد الطرق الصوفية ضد المشروع الفارسي الذي تقوده إيران[٢٣٧].

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http://attazkia.com/Portals/Content/?info=TkRVbVVHRm5aU1l4K3U=.plx.

٢٣٧- مقابلتان خاصتان مع الشيخ ناصر الدين الخطيب، بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ و١ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.
وانظر موقع مؤسسة السمائل للاستثمارات المرئية والمسموعة، الرابط:
http://assamael.com/customers.php.

ثالثا: الطريقة الرواسية الرفاعية

تُنسب الرواسية إلى بهاء الدين مهدي الرواس الرفاعي، ولد بالقرب من البصرة سنة ١٨٠٥م. توفي والده وبقي يتيماً، ثم توفيت أمه وقد بلغ خمس عشرة سنة. وفي عام ١٨٢٠ خرج طالباً بيت الله الحرام، فجاور في مكة سنة، ثم جاور في المدينة المنورة سنتين، وفيها اشتغل بطلب العلم على رجال الحرم النبوي. ثم ذهب إلى مصر ونزل في الجامع الأزهر، وبقي فيه ثلاث عشرة سنة، يتلقى العلوم الشرعية عن مشايخ الأزهر، حتى برع في كل فن وعلم. ليعود سائحاً إلى العراق، فاجتمع بالشيخ عبد الله الراوي الرفاعي، فأخذ عنه الطريقة الرفاعية، ولزم خدمته والسلوك على يديه مدة، وأجازه وأقامه خليفة عنه. ثم طاف البلاد وذهب إلى الهند وخراسان والعجم والتركستان والكردستان، وجاب العراق والشام والقسطنطينية والأناضول والروملي، وعاد إلى الحجاز، وذهب إلى اليمن ونجد والبحرين. وقد توفي سنة ١٨٧٠م في بغداد ودفن فيها[٢٣٤].

شيوخ الطريقة الرواسية:

١- **الشيخ علي أبو زيد (ت: ١٩٩٧م)**، أخذ الطريقة عن الشيخ محمود شقفة الحموي (ت: ١٩٧٩م)[٢٣٥]. وخلف أبو زيد في الطريقة كلاً من:

أ- **الشيخ محمود مروّح الفقيه**، وله زاوية في منطقة الجبل الشمالي بالرصيفة.

ب- **الشيخ الدكتور معاذ سعيد حوى**، ولد عام ١٩٦٩م، وهو ابن القيادي السوري في جماعة الإخوان المسلمين سعيد حوى رحمه الله. ويحمل شهادة الدكتوراه في الفقه وأصوله. ويعمل إماماً وخطيباً ومدرساً في أحد مساجد عَمَّان منذ سنة ١٩٩٣م، وينشط في إقامة الدورات التي تختص في علم التزكية[٢٣٦].

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٢٣٤- أنظر الشبكة الرفاعية، منتدى الإمام الرواس، الرابط:
http://alrfa3ea.4umer.com/t402-topic.

٢٣٥- موقع التزكية، بإشراف الشيخ معاذ حوى، الرابط:
http://attazkia.com/Portals/Content/?info=TkRVbVVHRm5aU1I4K3U=.plx.

٢٣٦- موقع التزكية، بإشراف الشيخ معاذ حوى، الرابط:

ب- الشيخ فارس الرفاعي، له زوايا في منطقة الحدادة بعمان، وفي المفرق، ودبين، وجرش. خلفه فيها مريدوه بعد وفاته[٢٣٢].

٣- أبناء وأحفاد الشيخ يوسف النويهي، ولم يَخْلف الشيخَ يوسف النويهي تلميذُه عبد الحافظ الطهراوي فحسب، وإنما ورث الطريقة عنه أبناؤه وأحفاده، ومنهم:

أ- الشيخ محمود النويهي، الابن الوحيد الذي ما زال على قيد الحياة. وله زاوية في مادبا.

ب- الشيخ أنور النويهي، أحد أحفاده. وله زاوية في منطقة القويسمة بعمان.

جـ- الشيخ عبد الحميد النويهي، أحد أحفاده، وينشط في نفس الزاوية السابقة.

د- الشيخ محمد النويهي، أحد أحفاده، وله زاوية في منطقة القويسمة بعمان، وهي غير السابق ذكرها[٢٣٣].

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٢٣٢- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي، بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٣٣- مقابلة خاصة مع ابنه الشيخ محمد عبد الحافظ الطهراوي، بتاريخ ٨ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

أحمد الراوي (ت: ١٩٦٦م)[٢٢٨]، فأخذ العهد عن الشيخ سيف بن عبد الوهاب الراوي (ت: ٢٠٠٠م) حفيد الشيخ أحمد الراوي، وقد كان راعياً لتكية الراوي في مدينة دير الزور بسوريا. وأسس الصرفندي مسجداً وزاوية في منطقة جبل النصر بعمان عام ١٩٧٨م.

تتميز طريقته باستخدام ضرب الشيش في أماكن متعددة من الجسد، خصوصاً في المناسبات الدينية وعند تعرّضه للاتهام والتحدي، الأمر الذي عرّضه لاتهامات عديدة من صوفيين وسلفيين؛ أدخلته في صراعات معهم. وتقام حضرته بعد صلاة المغرب من كل يوم خميس، وتشتمل على درس ديني، ثم إقامة حلقة الذكر[٢٢٩].

٢- الشيخ عبد الحافظ الطهراوي النويهي. من مواليد قرية أبو شوشة القريبة من مدينة الرملة بفلسطين عام ١٩١٠م، تعرّف على التصوف منذ صغره، ومكث فيه ٨٥ عاماً. وأخذ الطريقة الرفاعية عن الشيخ يوسف النويهي من قرية قزازة بالقرب من مدينة الرملة. ثم رحل من فلسطين إلى منطقة سحاب الأردنية عام ١٩٤٨م، ولكن لم يمكث فيها طويلاً، لينتقل منها إلى جبل الجوفة بعمّان، حيث فتح زاوية له فيها، هُدمت لصالح مشروع إقامة مدرسة الأمير حسن، ما اضطره إلى نقلها لمخيم الحسين بعمّان. وتميز الشيخ عبد الحافظ بكثرة استخدامه الضرب بالسيف في إظهار ما يسميه الكرامات، حتى إنه اشتُهر بلقب «اللحام»، بيد أنه تلقى أمراً «من أهل الله» في عام ١٩٦٧م يقول له: توقف عن الضرب بالسيف. فوقع الحظر[٢٣٠]. وكان يسلّك على خمس طرق: الرفاعية والقادرية والدسوقية والسعدية والبدوية. وقد توفي في عمان عام ٢٠٠٢م، وخلفه في الطريقة:

أ- ولده الشيخ محمد عبد الحافظ الطهراوي النويهي، من مواليد قرية أبو شوشة بفلسطين عام ١٩٤٤م، وأتى به والده إلى الأردن إبان نكبة عام ١٩٤٨م. وتلقى الطريقة عن والده، وخلفه في الزاوية التي كانت في مخيم الحسين بعمان، إلا أن شقيقه باعها، ما اضطره أن يقيم الحضرة في بيوت المريدين[٢٣١].

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٢٢٨- أنظر ترجمته في كتاب «تاريخ علماء بغداد في القرن الرابع عشر الهجري» ليونس إبراهيم السامرائي، طبع وزارة الاوقاف والشؤون الدينية عام ١٤٠٢هـ -١٩٨٢م.

٢٢٩- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عمر الصرفندي، بتاريخ ٢٨ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٣٠- مقابلة خاصة مع ابنه الشيخ محمد عبد الحافظ الطهراوي، بتاريخ ٨ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٣١- مقابلة خاصة مع ابنه الشيخ محمد عبد الحافظ الطهراوي، بتاريخ ٨ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

ثانيا: الطريقة الرفاعية

تنتسب الطريقة الرفاعية إلى أحمد الرفاعي (ت٥٧٧ه / ١١٨٢م)، وقد أنشأ زاوية في جنوب العراق واستقطب آلاف التلاميذ والمريدين، وانتشرت تعاليمه في مختلف أنحاء العالم الإسلامي، وكان يدعو إلى الالتزام بالسنة النبوية والتمسك بالشريعة والتواضع، إلا أن أتباعه أدخلوا على تعاليمه وطريقته منذ القرن السابع الهجري ممارسات لا تتوافق مع توجهاته كضرب الشيش وهي عملية ثقب الأجساد، والمشي على الجمر، والدخول في النار، وابتلاع الثعابين، وتناول السم.

ومن أشهر أتباع الطريقة الرفاعية في نهاية الدولة العثمانية الشيخ أبو الهدى الصيادي محمد حسن وادي (١٨٤٩-١٩٠٩)، من حلب، وقد اتصل الصيادي بالسلطان عبدالحميد الثاني فقلده مشيخة المشايخ وحظى عنده فكان من كبار ثقاته واستمر في خدمته زهاء ثلاثين سنة، وكان له الكلمة العليا عند عبدالحميد في نصب القضاة[٢٢٦].

شيوخ الطريقة الرفاعية:

١- **الشيخ عمر أحمد حسن أبو علية الصرفندي.** من مواليد بلدة الرملة، إسرائيل، عام ١٩٥١م، تربى في أكناف والده الذي كان أحد المتصوفين. وخرج مع والده من فلسطين على إثر نكبة عام ١٩٤٨م متوجهاً إلى صرفند، ثم إلى منطقة الشونة في الأردن ليمكث فيها أياماً قليلة وينتقل بعدها إلى العاصمة عمّان. وقد تلقى الطريقة الرفاعية في بداية الأمر على يد الشيخ عبد الحافظ الطهراوي، إلا أن هذا الأخير أمره بترك ضرب الشيش؛ فلم يستجب له، فقال له: أنت في طريق وأنا في طريق[٢٢٧]. فتوجه الصرفندي إلى أبناء الشيخ العراقي

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٢٢٦- لمزيد من التفصيل حول الصيادي وشخصيته الإشكالية، أنظر: بطرس ابو مانح، السلطان عبد الحميد الثاني والشيخ أبو الهدى الصيادي، ترجمة الدكتور انيس عبد الخالق محمود القيسي، على الرابط:
http://www.dahsha.com/old/viewarticle.php?id=33964

٢٢٧- مقابلة خاصة مع ابنه الشيخ محمد عبد الحافظ الطهراوي، بتاريخ ٨ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

وملتزماً بأورادهم[٢٢٣]. وكان الشيخ فلاح الحنيطي يركّز في طريقته على أهمية أن يكون المريد فقيهاً في الأحكام الشرعية، ومن أشهر شيوخ هذه الطريقة الذين تلقوا العلم والسلوك على يده:

١- **الشيخ خالد أبو زيتون**، من منطقة عصيرة الشمالية، وكان فقيهاً مالكياً، ومقرئاً يمنح الإجازات في قراءة القرآن وإقرائه، توفي في سنة ٢٠٠٩م، ودُفن في مقبرة حي هملان بماركا الجنوبية[٢٢٤].

٢- **الشيخ محمود سليم الثلجي**، وهو مقيم في منطقة أم الحيران بعمّان، ويعتبر شيخ الطريقة الذي يمنح البيعة، ويبلغ من العمر ما يقارب ١٠٠ عام إلى حين إعداد هذه الدراسة.

٣- **الشيخ عايش الحويان**، المقيم في منطقة الجمرك بعمان، وهو من مواليد عمان في عام ١٩٢٩م، ويعد شيخ مشايخ عشيرة الحويان في الأردن. ويقيم مجلساً لمريديه بعد صلاة الفجر من كل جمعة، يتذاكرون فيه أحكاماً فقهية، ويتشاورون في أحوالهم الاجتماعية.

أخذ الشيخ الحويان العهد عن فلاح الحنيطي سنة ١٩٦١م، ورشّح نفسه في الثمانينات للبرلمان الأردني في الانتخابات التكميلية التي أجريت على إثر وفاة الشيخ محمد منور الحديد، ولكنه لم ينجح في الحصول على المقعد النيابي[٢٢٥].

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٢٢٣- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عايش الحويان بتاريخ ٢٩ / ٥ / ٢٠١١.

٢٢٤- أنظر الرابط: .http://www.beatnabala.com/vb/showthread.php?t=15321

٢٢٥- أنظر الرابط: .http://www.beatnabala.com/vb/showthread.php?t=15321

فلسطين، ويُعدّ أول من عمّر الرشيدية والطفيلة خلال حقبة العشرينات[٢١٨]. وقد توفي في تركيا سنة ١٩٦٩[٢١٩].

خلفه في الطريقة ولده زين العابدين الذي قام بتعليم الناس آداب الطريقة، ثم قرر مغادرة الأردن إلى موريتانيا لقتال الاستعمار الفرنسي، وتم اعتقاله من قبل القوات الفرنسية ولم يُعلم مصيره[٢٢٠].

وللطريقة سند آخر، حيث قدم إلى الاردن عالمٌ مغربي لا يُعلم اسمه، والتقى بشخص يُدعى فلاح نصر الله الحنيطي كان يعمل حارساً على الغنم في محافظة السلط، وقام بدعوته إلى الصلاة والالتزام بالأخلاق الإسلامية، وقال لأتباعه: سيكون فلاح شيخكم. ثم سافر العالم المغربي إلى الحج. وبعدها بسنوات غادر فلاح الأردن متوجهاً إلى حيفا ومنها إلى جدة ثم إلى مكة المكرمة. والتقى مرة أخرى بالعالم المغربي الذي أعطاه حينذاك العهد بالالتزام بالطريقة الغظفية وتبليغها[٢٢١].

مكث فلاح في مكة ست سنوات ثم رجع إلى الأردن في العشرينيات، وتفرّغ لتعليم الناس وتسليكهم على طريقته التي امتازت بالتركيز على الدعوة إلى الالتزام بالصلوات الخمس، ولبس النساء الحجاب، وتحريم الذبح لغير الله، وقام بنفسه بقطع أربع شجرات زيتون كان الناس يقصدونها معتقدين أنها تمنحهم البركة[٢٢٢]. فأغرت دعوته بعض الخصوم باتهامه وأتباعه بـ «الوهابية»، ما دفع الملك عبد الله الأول للدفاع عنه وعن أتباعه، حيث كان سالكاً على طريقتهم،

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٢١٨- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عايش الحويان بتاريخ ٢٩ / ٥ / ٢٠١١، وهو أحد أتباع الطريقة الغظفية في الأردن، ولد عام ١٩٢٩م في عمان.

٢١٩- صحيفة الخبر، موريتانيا واشعاعها الفكري والروحي ضمن الفضائين الإفريقي والعربي، لمحمد الأمين ولد الكتاب.
أنظر الرابط: .http://www.elkhebar.info/news.php?action=view&id=431

٢٢٠- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عايش الحويان بتاريخ ٢٩ / ٥ / ٢٠١١.

٢٢١- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عايش الحويان بتاريخ ٢٩ / ٥ / ٢٠١١.

٢٢٢- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عايش الحويان بتاريخ ٢٩ / ٥ / ٢٠١١.

٤- الطريقة الشاذلية الغظفية القادرية

وهي من أقدم الطرق الصوفية في الأردن، وقد دخلت قبل تأسيس الإمارة، وهي مزيج من الطريقتين القادرية والشاذلية، ومن أهم مؤسسيها الشيخ محمد الأغظف الداودي المتوفى سنة ١٢١٠هـ. ويتركز وجودها في شرق موريتانيا، ومن أبرز مشايخها الأحياء، الشيخ عبد الله بن بيه نائب رئيس الاتحاد العالمي لعلماء المسلمين[٢١٣].

تعرضت هذه الطريقة التي يصفها أتباعها بـ«المجاهدة»، للاضطهاد بسبب مناهضتها للاستعمار الفرنسي، ولذلك قررت خمسين أسرة من أتباع الطريقة الهجرة والحج عام ١٩٠٤، وفي الطريق حملهم الأتراك إلى اسطنبول حيث استقبلهم السلطان عبد الحميد، ثم استقروا بعد الحج بالأناضول[٢١٤]، ومنهم من رحل إلى السودان[٢١٥]، فيما حط المقام بأحد أبرز شيوخهم في عكا بفلسطين، وهو الشريف محمد الأمين بن زين القلقمي، وذلك بعد أن ارتحل من موريتانيا إلى ليبيا عام ١٩٠٣، وأقام فيها زاوية لتدريس العلوم الدينية، والتف الناس حوله بكثافة إلى حين احتلال ليبيا من قبل الاستعمار الإيطالي، فارتحل عنها متجهاً إلى المشرق[٢١٦].

وصل محمد الأمين إلى الاردن حيث أقام زاوية له بالقرب من مدينة عمان، والتفت حوله قبائل شرقي الأردن التي كانت تتوق إلى من يرشدها ويفقهها في أمور دينها، ومن الأردن ذهب الشيخ محمد أمين إلى تركيا حيث قاتل إلى جانب الاتراك ضد الانجليز[٢١٧]. ويذكر أنه قاتل اليهود في

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٢١٣- أنظر الرابط: http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/الطريقة__الغظفية

٢١٤- دراسة بعنوان: «بين التصوف والسلفية في بلاد شنقيط للهادي بن محمد المختار النحوي»، أنظر الرابط: .http://www.emjad.net/article2149.html

٢١٥- أنظر الرابط: http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/الطريقة__الغظفية

٢١٦- صحيفة الخبر، موريتانيا واشعاعها الفكري والروحي ضمن الفضائين الإفريقي والعربي، لمحمد الأمين ولد الكتاب. أنظر الرابط: .http://www.elkhebar.info/news.php?action=view&id=431

٢١٧- صحيفة الخبر، موريتانيا واشعاعها الفكري والروحي ضمن الفضائين الإفريقي والعربي، لمحمد الأمين ولد الكتاب.
أنظر الرابط: .http://www.elkhebar.info/news.php?action=view&id=431

رجع إلى الأردن ليعيّن معيداً في كلية الشريعة سنة ١٩٧٠م، وفيها تعرّف على ابن الشيخ عبد الرحمن أبو ريشة ومن خلاله نشأت علاقة بينه وبين الشيخ عبد الرحمن (ت: ١٩٧٤م) الذي كان صهراً للشيخ إبراهيم، ابن علي نور الدين اليشرطي الذي تُنسب إليه الطريقة اليشرطية. وتوالت الزيارات بين الدكتور عبد الجليل والشيخ عبد الرحمن أبو ريشة الذي كان مقيماً في سوريا ويقوم بزيارات شهرية إلى الأردن، حتى أخذ عنه الطريقة.

ويقيم الدكتور عبد الجليل في منطقة صويلح بعمّان، ويعقد حضرة الذكر في مقام النبي شعيب عليه السلام الكائن في منطقة وادي شعيب القريب من مدينة السلط، بعد الانتهاء من خطبة الجمعة التي يلقيها بنفسه[٢١٢].

٢١٢- مقابلة خاصة مع د. عبد الجليل عبد الرحيم، بتاريخ ٤ /٦ / ٢٠١١م.

وللطريقة اليشرطية في الأردن شيخان وهما:

١- **أحمد محمد الهادي اليشرطي.** فمع انتقال الطريقة اليشرطية للمحامي أحمد اليشرطي المقيم في عمّان سنة ١٩٨٠م، أصبحت العاصمة الأردنية مركز نشاط اليشرطية في العالم، ويقال إن مريديه يصلون إلى مائة ألف مريد، يتوافد عليه كثير منهم، خصوصاً من جنوب إفريقيا[٢١٠].

وقد شيّد اليشرطي بيتاً وزاوية بالقرب من الدوار الرابع في جبل عمان، ثم انتقلت الزاوية إلى منطقة بيادر وادي السير في عمّان، ويساعده في الإشراف على الزاوية أحد أبنائه ووكيله الشيخ سعيد العوري. وتتميز الطريقة اليشرطية في الأردن بالكتمان والغموض، ولا يُسمح بالدخول إلى الزاوية إلا لمن يملك إذناً مسبقاً، وتُتهم من قبل طرق صوفية أخرى بأنها تتجاوز أحكام الشريعة، وتُقيم حضرات مختلطة بين النساء والرجال وتقع فيها ما يسمونه بـ «المحرّمات»[٢١١]. ويزور اليشرطي لبنان بين الحين والآخر ليتفقد أبناء الطريقة في الزاوية الجديدة التي تقع جنوب بيروت.

٢- **الدكتور عبد الجليل عبد الرحيم علي العبادلة.** وهو من مواليد قرية دير بلوط بفلسطين عام ١٩٤٤م. درس في مدرسة سلفيت الثانوية، والتحق بالمعهد الديني بنابلس عام ١٩٦١ الذي كان يؤهل الراغبين بالالتحاق في الأزهر الشريف بالقاهرة، ويسمّى حالياً «مدرسة العلوم الإسلامية». ثم انتقل للدراسة في كلية أصول الدين بالأزهر الشريف، وتعرف فيها على العلماء والأولياء، وعلى رأسهم شيخ الأزهر عبد الحليم محمود. وتعرف هناك على شيخ الطريقة النقشبندية نجم الدين الكردي (ت: ١٩٨٦م)، ولزم مجالسه عام ١٩٦٣م لمدة عام واحد. وعاد إلى فلسطين ومنها إلى الأردن على إثر حرب عام ١٩٦٧م، ومنها إلى مصر ليباشر دراسة الماجستير في العلوم الشرعية بجامعة الأزهر.

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٢١٠- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ مصطفى أبو رمان، بتاريخ ٣ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

٢١١- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ مصطفى أبو رمان، بتاريخ ٣ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م، مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

وقد خلف الشيخ علي، ولده إبراهيم على الطريقة، وفي عام ١٩٢٨م توفي الشيخ إبراهيم، وخلفه ولده محمد الهادي، الذي انتقل إلى بيروت عام ١٩٤٨م، وتوفي فيها عام ١٩٨٢م وتم نقل جثمانه إلى عكا حيث دفن إلى جانب والده وجده، وبعد وفاة الشيخ محمد الهادي؛ خلفه ولده المحامي أحمد اليشرطي المقيم حالياً في العاصمة الأردنية عمّان[٢٠٧].

وتتمتع الطريقة اليشرطية بانتشار واسع خارج الأردن، سواء في المنطقة العربية، أو في شرق إفريقيا، كجزر القمر الاتحادية الإسلامية، حيث يعتبر حوالي ٩٠ في المئة من سكان تلك الجزر من أبناء الطريقة الشاذلية اليشرطية، ثم تنزانيا، وكينيا، وأوغندا، ومدغشقر، وجزيرة موريشوس، وجزيرة لاريونيون، وكذلك في بلاد المهجر الأمريكي، مثل كندا والولايات المتحدة والبرازيل[٢٠٨].

وتُعدّ الطريقة الشاذلية اليشرطية من أقدم الطرق الصوفية في الأردن، حيث وصلت الطريقة الى الأردن في العقد الثالث من القرن العشرين بواسطة بعض الأفراد الذين استوطنوا الأردن من لبنان. وعندما وقعت كارثة فلسطين عام ١٩٤٨م، هاجر العديد من أبناء الطريقة اليشرطية مع غيرهم من الفلسطينيين الى الأردن، كما أن أعداداً أخرى منهم كانوا من سكان المنطقة الداخلية من فلسطين، وبإعلان الوحدة بين الضفتين في عام ١٩٥٠م؛ صار هؤلاء من المواطنين الأردنيين[٢٠٩].

D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%8A%D9%86+%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%B4%D8%B1%D8%B7%D9%8A+%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%AF%D8%B3&cd=3&hl=ar&ct=clnk&gl=jo&source=www.google.jo

وانظر مقالة بعنوان: «الشيخ علي اليشرطي الصوفي المجدد» للدكتور وفاء السوافطة، www.yashruti.blogspot.com. وللسوافطة رسالة دكتوراه نوقشت في الجامعة اللبنانية ببيروت، بعنوان: «المدرسة الشاذلية اليشرطية وشيخها الشيخ علي نورالدين اليشرطي».

٢٠٧– مقالة بعنوان: «مدينة عكا.. الموقع الحضارة والتاريخ» لعبد الله قزموز، http://www.thaqafa.org/Main/default.aspx?_ContentType=ART&_ContentID=a065625b-9a67-4c9e-aaf4-12520716743b.

٢٠٨– موقع الطريقة الشاذلية اليشرطية على شبكة الإنترنت، www.shathli-yashruti.webs.com.

٢٠٩– موقع الطريقة الشاذلية اليشرطية على شبكة الإنترنت، www.shathli-yashruti.webs.com.

٣- الطريقة الشاذلية اليَشْرُطية

تُنسب الطريقة اليشرطية إلى علي نور الدين المكنى بأبي فاطمة اليشرطية. وُلد في مدينة بنزرت بتونس عام ١٧٩٤م، وينتسب إلى بني يشرط، وهي إحدى القبائل في المغرب العربي. وتلقّى تعليمه في بنزرت أولاً، ثم التحق بجامع الزيتونة في تونس، حيث حضر كثيراً من الدروس هناك، وسلك في عدة طرق صوفية، أبرزها الشاذلية التي تلقاها على يدي الشيخ محمد حسن بن حمزة ظافر المدني (ت: ١٨٥٢م). واشتغل اليشرطي في بداياته، بالتدريس في بعض المدارس الثانوية التي كانت تعج بها العاصمة تونس آنذاك، فدرّس التفسير، والحديث، والأصول، والتشريع، والمنطق، والكلام، وغيرها من المواد والعلوم.

رحل من بلاد المغرب إلى الحجاز في عام ١٨٤٦م، ومنها إلى عكا في عام ١٨٥٠م وأقام فيها الزاوية الشاذلية سنة ١٨٦٢، وفي داخل الزاوية هنالك «مزار» أو«مشهد» دفن فيه ثلاثة من اقطاب الطريقة الشاذلية اليشرطية[٢٠٤]. ثم انتقل علي نور الدين اليشرطي إلى بلدة ترشيحة القريبة من عكا.

وكان له جهود في مناظرة البهائية والرد عليهم، وأدى كثرة إقبال الناس عليه وازدياد عدد مريديه واتباعه إلى خشية الحكومة العثمانية فنفاه والي دمشق إلى جزيرة رودس سنة ١٨٥١م[٢٠٥]، وبعد أن أمضى إحدى وعشرين شهراً في المنفى أطلق سراحه السلطان عبد الحميد. وعاد إلى ترشيحا ومنها إلى عكا، إلى أن توفاه الله عام ١٨٩٩م بعد أن جاوز المائة عام، وله قبر في عكا يزار[٢٠٦].

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٢٠٤- مقالة بعنوان: «مدينة عكا.. الموقع الحضارة والتاريخ» لعبد الله قزموز، http://www.thaqafa.org/Main/default.aspx?_ContentType=ART&_ContentID=a065625b-9a67-4c9e-aaf4-12520716743b.

٢٠٥- قال الدكتور عبد الجليل عبد الرحيم اليشرطي في مقابلة خاصة معه بتاريخ ٤ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م، إن «البريطانيين هم الذين نفوه إلى رودس فعمّرها بالزوايا».

٢٠٦- كتاب «مسيرتي في طريق الحق» ص٢١٨ لفاطمة اليشرطي، بدلالة الرابط: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:JTHutLKwOLQJ:homepages.tscnet.com/omard1/alg1.htm+%D9%86%D9%88%D8%B1+%

٣– **الدكتور محمد الفيلالي**، وهو ابن الشيخ الفيلالي ويقيم في حي العرب بمدينة الزرقاء، ويذكر بأنه أعطى العهد لعدد من أمراء العائلة المالكة[٢٠١].

٤– **الشيخ إبراهيم الفالوجي**، وله زاوية في ضاحية الأمير حسن.

٥– **الشيخ علي الحسيني**، وله زاوية في منطقة شفا بدران بعمان، ويحضر مجالسه عدد من أمراء العائلة المالكة في الأردن، منهم الأمير علي بن نايف، والأمير عاصم بن نايف[٢٠٢].

٦– **الشيخ عبد القادر علي آل الشيخ**[٢٠٣]. ولد في عمّان عام ١٩٤٧م، أصله من المدينة المنورة، خرج جده منها مع الأمير عبد الله الأول إلى الأردن إبان تأسيس الإمارة. وتعرّف على الشيخ الفيلالي في عام ١٩٦٣ ملتزماً بأخذ الطريقة على يديه.

عمل إماماً في القوات المسلحة عام ١٩٦٨، ثم إماما تابعاً لمديرية الأوقاف عام ١٩٧٠. وعُيّن مفتياً للدفاع المدني عام ١٩٧٤ إلى أن تقاعد عام ١٩٩١م، وتفرغ بعدها للكتابة والخطابة والتدريس، واشتُهر بخطبه التي كان يلقيها في مسجد الكالوتي بمنطقة الرابية بعمان، والتي كانت تستقطب حضوراً لافتاً، ما أدى إلى منعه من الخطابة في عام ٢٠٠٨م.

٢٠١– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ حماد عثمان أبو عواد، بتاريخ ٣٠ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٠٢– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي، بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٠٣– مصادر ترجمته: مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عبد القادر الشيخ بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م، مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ حماد عثمان أبو عواد، بتاريخ ٣٠ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م، كتاب رسالة في أسرار العدد سبعة، لعبد القادر علي الشيخ، ١٩٩٨م، ص٤٣.

ثم ذهب إلى حي العرب بمدينة الزرقاء واستقر فيها عام ١٩٦٧م[١٩٤]، حيث شيّد فيها منزلاً له، وأقام زاوية ما زالت قائمة حتى الآن، وكتب عليها عبارة «الزاوية الفيلالية المغربية»[١٩٥]، والمقدَّم فيها حالياً ابنه الشيخ محمد الفيلالي. ويقال بأن الملك حسين بن طلال أخذ عليه العهد بالطريقة[١٩٦]، لكننا لم نقف على ما يُثبت صحة ذلك، بل إن تلميذه عبد القادر الشيخ نفى أن يكون الملك حسين أخذ طريقة صوفية من أحد[١٩٧]. وقد توفي الفيلالي عام ١٩٨٦م، ودُفن في مقبرة سحاب[١٩٨].

وينتسب إلى طريقة الشيخ الفيلالي في الأردن:

١- **الشيخ شحادة الطبيري (أبو شاهر).** له زاوية في وسط معان، وهو أحد شيوخ العشائر المعروفين فيها، ويُعدّ الشيخ حمدان الزيود خليفته في منطقة سحاب[١٩٩].

٢- **الشيخ أحمد حسن شحادة الردايدة**[٢٠٠]. ولد في كفر يوبا بإربد عام ١٩٤١م. تعرف على الفيلالي حين حضر مجلس الذكر في زاويته الكائنة بالقرب من المسجد الحسيني بوسط عمان عام ١٩٦٥، وأخذ عليه العهد بالسلوك. ويقول إن أتباعه في الأردن وخارجها يبلغون سبعة آلاف مريد.

شارك في العديد من المؤتمرات العربية والدولية، وعضو في اتحاد الكتاب والأدباء الأردنيين، وله عدة مؤلفات في التصوف. وله زاوية في كفر يوبا تقام فيها الحضرة مساء يومي الأحد والخميس وقبل صلاة الجمعة بساعة ونصف. وزاوية في طرة إربد يدير شؤونها الحاج يحيى السميعات. بالإضافة إلى زاوية للنساء تقع في بيت إحدى النساء بالقرب من مخيم إربد.

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١٩٤- بحسب الشيخ الردايدة، أما الشيخ عبد القادر الشيخ فإنه أرّخ ذلك بسنة ١٩٦٥م.

١٩٥- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عبدالقادر الشيخ، بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

١٩٦- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

١٩٧- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عبدالقادر الشيخ، بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

١٩٨- أعلام في التراث الصوفي، ص٢٨٠.

١٩٩- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

٢٠٠- مصادر ترجمته: مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ أحمد الردايدة، بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م، وكتاب «أعلام في التراث الصوفي»، ص٥٨٤-٥٨٥.

٢- الطريقة الشاذلية الدرقاويّة العلويّة الفيلالية

تنسب الفيلالية إلى الشيخ مصطفى عبد السلام الفيلالي، المولود في قصر صوصو بالمغرب عام ١٨٨٨م. شدّ الرحال مع عائلته لأداء فريضة الحج عام ١٨٩٧م، وبعد أداء المناسك آثروا الإقامة بالمدينة المنورة، وفيها كانت نشأته العلمية. وبعد أن توفّي والده تركه في حضانة أمه هو وأشقاؤه، ولمّا بلغ أشدّه توجّه إلى مصر وبلاد الشام، وطالت إقامته في بيت المقدس. وقد اجتمع بالشيخ أحمد بن مصطفى بن عليوة العلوي في بيت المقدس حوالي عام ١٩٢٤م تقريباً[١٨٨]، وتتلمذ على يديه. ثم لحق به إلى مستغانم في الجزائر ومكث فيها أياماً، وبأمر من الشيخ العلوي؛ عاد إلى فلسطين واجتهد في نشر الطريقة، حيث أسس فيها عدة زوايا أولها في حدود عام ١٩٢٨م[١٨٩].

وعندما قدم العلوي إلى دمشق الشام، ذهب إليه الفيلالي عام ١٩٤٨م[١٩٠]، فمنحه الإذن ليكون شيخ الطريقة في فلسطين والأردن، ومنح الشيخ محمد الهاشمي الإذن شيخاً للطريقة في سوريا[١٩١]. ورجع الفيلالي من سوريا إلى عمّان عام ١٩٥٣م[١٩٢]، وفور قدومه أسس فيها زاوية بالقرب من المسجد الحسيني وسط المدينة كان يُقام فيها الذكر كل يوم أحد وخميس[١٩٣].

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١٨٨- أنظر: «أعلام في التراث الصوفي من آل بيت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم»، لمؤلفه الحاج أحمد حسن شحادة ردايدة، طبع دار الكتب العلمية ببيروت، ودار الكتاب الثقافي بإربد، ٢٠٠٥م، ص٣٦١. وفي مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عبد القادر الشيخ بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م، أشار إلى أن الفيلالي تعرف على الشيخ العلوي في المدينة المنورة.

١٨٩- أعلام في التراث الصوفي، ص٣٦١.

١٩٠- أعلام في التراث الصوفي، ص٣٦١.

١٩١- أعلام في التراث الصوفي، ص٢٦٥-٢٨٠.

١٩٢- المصدر السابق، الموضع نفسه. وفي مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عبدالقادر الشيخ؛ أشار إلى أن الشيخ الفيلالي قدم إلى عمان عام ١٩٤٨م، وأنه أقام زاويته في عمان عام ١٩٥٤م.

١٩٣- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ أحمد الردايدة، بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م. وبحسب الشيخ عبد القادر الشيخ، فإن هذه الزاوية انتقلت إلى ماركا في عام ١٩٧٤، ثم إلى منطقة الجندويل بعمان في عام ٢٠٠٥.

أحمد العكور الذي يتوقَّع أن يخلفه في الطريقة[١٨٦]، والشيخ حمد بركات الذي يدير زاوية مادبا، والشيخ أبو أنس في زاوية سحاب، والشيخ محمود الزرقان في زاوية الطفيلة.

ومن تلاميذ الكردي الذين لم يأخذوا منه الإذن بإعطاء البيعة، وإنما يقومون بتسليك المريدين على طريقته، الشيخ أحمد الخضري، الذي اشتُهر بحضرته التي كان يقيمها أسبوعياً في المسجد الحسيني بوسط عمان. مع العلم بأنه كان مأذوناً من الشيخ الكردي، غير أن هذا الأخير خشي أن لا تستمر الطريقة على يديه بسبب ضعفه وتواضعه الشديد، فما كان إلا أن سحب منه الإذن[١٨٧].

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١٨٦- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

١٨٧- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ مصطفى أبو رمان بتاريخ ٣ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

التقى بالشيخ محمد سعيد الكردي حيث كان مقيماً في بلدة صخرة المجاورة لبلد الشيخ، فأخذ عنه الطريقة الشاذلية[١٨١]، إلا أنه لم يمنحه إجازة الطريقة، وإنما أجازه بالتسليك في الأردن بإشراف الشاغوري، وبقي كذلك إلى أن انشق في عام ١٩٨٧م[١٨٢]. وكان المومني ينوي أن يخلّف من بعده في الطريقة ولده عارف، إلا أنه توفي في حياته، ولا يُعرف بعد ذلك أنه ترك وصيةً لا مكتوبة ولا شفوية بمن يخلفه في الطريقة. ومع ذلك فقد خلفه الشيخ عبد الكريم العرابي[١٨٣]. وقد توفي سنة ١٩٩١م، ودفن في منزله في حي القصيلة في مدينة إربد، وبنى أتباعه عليه مقاماً يُزار.

خلف المومني في الطريقة:

الشيخ عبد الكريم العرابي المعروف بـ(أبو عبد الواحد). وهو من مواليد بئر السبع بفلسطين سنة ١٩٤٢، هاجر منها إلى شرق الأردن سنة ١٩٤٨ إبان الاحتلال اليهودي. وتلقى علوم الشريعة والسلوك على يد الشيخ محمد سعيد الكردي، وتخرج هو والمومني من مدرسته الشرعية. وبعد إكمال تعليمه الشرعي عُيِّن إماما في وزارة الأوقاف، وبقي ملازما للكردي حتى وفاته، ثم لزم الشيخ عبدالكريم المومني، وخلفه بعد وفاته في الإشراف على زوايا الطريقة وتربية المريدين.

يقيم في منطقة حكما وفيها زاويته الرئيسية، وله عدد من الزوايا في عنجرة، ومادبا، والطفيلة، وسحاب، وهذه الأخيرة هي التي قرر نقلها من المسجد الحسيني بوسط عمان عام ٢٠٠٥، مع أن الديوان الملكي سمح له بالاستمرار فيها، إلا أنه فضّل الانتقال إلى سحاب[١٨٤]. وله أتباع ومريدون في الحجاز والخليج. ويزعم أتباعه بأن عنده ثلاثة آلاف مريد[١٨٥]، يتميزون بارتدائهم العمامة (اللفّة) وفوقها «الحطة»، ومن أبرزهم الشيخ

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١٨١– وكالة عجلون الإخبارية، الرابط: http://www.ajlounnews.net/index.php?module=articles&id=212&category=83.

١٨٢– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

١٨٣– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

١٨٤– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ مصطفى أبو رمان بتاريخ ٣ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

١٨٥– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

بعمّان، وعمل بعد ذلك مدرساً للغة الإنجليزية في جامعة اليرموك. وتتلمذ في سوريا على الشيخ عبد الرحمن الشاغوري، وأخذ عنه الطريقة الشاذلية سنة ١٩٨٨[١٧٧].

وهو زميل أول في مؤسسة آل البيت للفكر الإسلامي في الأردن، وشيخ للطريقة الشاذلية في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، ويعتبر من الشخصيات البارزة في الحوار الإسلامي المسيحي، ومن المساهمين في مبادرة «كلمة سواء» التي وجّهها علماء من مختلف التيارات الإسلامية إلى شخصيات دينية مسيحية[١٧٨]. وله زاوية في عمان بحي الخرابشة في المدينة الرياضية، وتتميز طريقته في التسليك بالصرامة والتنظيم المجدول، ويمتلك عدداً من المؤسسات في الأردن، منها مؤسسة القبلة، ويقوم بنفسه بترجمة كتب المذهب الشافعي إلى الإنجليزية، وتتميز زاويته بوجود نشاط نسوي ملحوظ[١٧٩].

٤- **الشيخ إسماعيل محمد سعيد الكردي**، وهو ابن الشيخ الكردي، ولد في محافظة إربد عام ١٩٥٧م. ودرس في المعهد الشرعي بدمشق، وتخرج منه عام ١٩٩٦م. وأجازه الشاغوري في الطريقة عام ١٩٩٨م، وقد زاره في إربد عام ٢٠٠٢، وأقام عنده لمدة ثمانية أيام، وثّق خلالها إجازته وأعلنها على الملأ. وله زاويتان، الأولى في بيت راس بجانب مخيم إربد، تُقام فيها الحضرة بعد صلاة الجمعة. والأخرى في مسجد الكردي بالصريح، ويقام فيها مجلسان للذكر، بعد العشاء من كل يوم ثلاثاء، وبين المغرب والعشاء من كل يوم خميس[١٨٠].

ب- **الشيخ عبد الكريم سليم المومني**. وهو من مواليد بلدة عبين بعجلون سنة ١٩٢٤م. وقد نشأ يتيماً، وعمل بالزراعة، حتى بلغ أشده. والتحق بكتائب المجاهدين في فلسطين، والتي كان يشرف عليها فوزي القاوقجي، ومكث يجاهد مع هذه الكتائب لمدة أربع سنوات.

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١٧٧- أنظر كتاب «الشاغوري شاعر التصوف في القرن العشرين» لرضوان بن الشيخ محمد سعيد إيزولي الكردي، طبع في عمان عام ٢٠٠٢م، ص٣٤٩.

١٧٨- انظر: نوح_كلر/http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki

١٧٩- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

١٨٠- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م. وانظر «الشاغوري شاعر التصوف في القرن العشرين» (ص٣٥٣-٣٥٤).

وخلف الشاغوري على الطريقة في الأردن:

١- **الشيخ يونس حمدان،** ويعد أول مجاز من الشاغوري في الأردن، وكان له نشاط واضح في منطقة الصريح بإربد[١٧٠]، إلا أنه اعتزل التسليك بدعوى أنه ليس أهلاً لذلك[١٧١]، حيث إنه خرج على مريديه يوماً وخلع عباءته، وقال لهم: خلعت المشيخة كما أخلع عباءتي هذه[١٧٢].

و يشير بعض المتصوفة إلى أن تعرّض الشيخ حمدان لهجوم من قبل عبد الكريم العرابي عام ١٩٩٥، ومزاحمته على رئاسة الطريقة؛ هو من دفعه إلى الاعتزال[١٧٣].

٢- **الشيخ أحمد الجمال،** وأصله من مدينة حماة السورية، وهو مقيم في منطقة طبربور بالأردن[١٧٤]. وقد استلم المشيخة لمدة ثلاث سنوات ثم تركها[١٧٥]. وتميز بتمكّنه من علوم الشريعة، ما جعله يعترض على كثير من العبارات التي تُقال في الحضرات، خصوصاً ما يتعلق منها بعقيدة الحلول والاتحاد[١٧٦].

٣- **نوح حاميم كلر،** وهو من أصل أمريكي مقيم في الأردن، ومن مواليد سنة ١٩٥٤م في قرية أودسة من ولاية واشنطن لعائلة من الروم الكاثوليك. واعتنق الإسلام أثناء دراسته للغة العربية في جامعة الأزهر بمصر سنة ١٩٧٧م، ثم درس اللغة العربية على كلود أدبيرت في جامعة كاليفورنيا في لوس أنجلوس، وحصل منها على شهادة علمية في الفلسفة سنة ١٩٨٠م. ثم انتقل إلى الأردن واستأنف دراسة العربية في الجامعة الأردنية

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١٧٠- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.
١٧١- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.
١٧٢- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عمر طارق بتاريخ ٢٢ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.
١٧٣- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.
١٧٤- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.
١٧٥- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عمر طارق بتاريخ ٢٢ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.
١٧٦- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ مصطفى أبو رمان بتاريخ ٣ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

وأسس فيها المدرسة الشرعية التي كانت شهاداتها معتمدة لدى مديرية الأوقاف[١٦٣]. ويصفه أتباعه بأنه مؤسس التصوف في الأردن، وطريقته هي الأكثر انتشاراً في البلاد[١٦٤].

أخذ علم السلوك عن الشيخ محمد الهاشمي التلمساني، ومنحه إذناً مكتوباً بالتسليك[١٦٥]، ويشكك بعض المتصوفة بصحة ذلك[١٦٦]. وله عدة مؤلفات، منها: رسالة التوحيد، كتاب الأذكار، نشر الأعطار المحمدية في الديار الإسلامية، القصائد الروحية في الأسرار الذاتية – وهو ديوان شعر –، دوحة الإمداد في ذكر بعض كرامات أولياء الأكراد، في لبس المرآة المسلمة، التعرف بحقائق التصوف. وكتب مذكرات لم تُنشر بعد. وتوفي عام ١٩٧٢م عن عمر يناهز ٨٢ عاماً، ودُفن في بلدة الصريح في إربد، وزاويته ما زالت قائمة في مخيم إربد[١٦٧].

وخلّف الكردي على الطريقة:

أ– **الشيخ عبد الرحمن الشاغوري** في دمشق، وهو من مواليد حمص عام ١٩١٠م. منحه الشيخ محمد سعيد الكردي الإذن بالطريقة، وبعد وفاته قدم الشاغوري إلى الأردن وكلّف عبد الكريم المومني بمهام الطريقة في البلاد، وبعد عدة سنوات، وبالتحديد عام ١٩٨٧م؛ انشق عنه وادعى أنه خليفة الشيخ الكردي وأنه أعطاه مشيخة الطريقة[١٦٨].

إلا أن الشيخ إسماعيل ابن الشيخ محمد سعيد الكردي، يؤكد أن والده لم يُجزْ إلا الشيخ الشاغوري، ويقول إن والده لم يكن يرى فيمن سلك على يديه في الأردن من هو مؤهّلٌ لمنحه خلافة الطريقة[١٦٩].

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١٦٣– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

١٦٤– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ مصطفى أبو رمان بتاريخ ٣ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

١٦٥– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

١٦٦– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

١٦٧– أنظر كتاب: «محمد سعيد الكردي»، لمحمد نجاح اللوباني، دار المناهج بعمّان، ١٩٩٧م. وانظر صفحة الشيخ الكردي على الفيسبوك:
http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=127850867256291&v=info.

١٦٨– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

١٦٩– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

الأردن في أواخر الثمانينات وبداية التسعينات، ثم ما لبث أن سافر إلى تركيا حيث توفي فيها عام ١٩٩١م[١٥٩]. وله عدد من المؤلفات، أهمها كتاب «حقائق عن التصوف».

خلفه في الطريقة بالأردن كلاً من:

أ- **الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة**، عائلته من مدينة يافا بفلسطين، وهو من مواليد نابلس عام ١٩٣٣م. أرسله والده إلى الشام ودرس بدمشق، حيث تعرّف على الشيخ عبد القادر عيسى عام ١٩٥٩م وأخذ منه الإذن بالطريقة، وانتفع بشيخه محمد الهاشمي أيضاً. عاد إلى عمان وعُيِّن إماماً وخطيباً ومدرساً بالمسجد الحسيني وسط عمّان عام ١٩٦٤، حيث بدأ نشاطه بنشر التصوف، فاتحاً زاوية كبيرة بالقرب من المسجد االحسيني، وكان أول من قام بفتح دارا لتعليم القرآن الكريم بالتعاون مع مدير الأوقاف آنذاك عبد الوهاب الموصلي. وانتقل إلى مسجد دار القرآن الكريم في منطقة حي نزال بعمّان وأسس فيه زاوية تُقام فيها الحضرة صباح وظهر الجمعة، وبعد صلاة العشاء من كل يوم ثلاثاء. وله زاويتان أيضاً في كل من جاوا بعمّان، وغور الأردن. وله مسجد دار القرآن وزاوية في منطقةحي نزال بعمان. وقد استقل عن مرجعية الطريقة التي تتبع الشيخ أحمد الجامي في تركيا[١٦٠].

ب- **الشيخ عبد الهادي سمورة المعروف بـ (أبو مصطفى)**، ويلتقي بمريديه في زاويته الكائنة بجبل عمان - شارع الرينبو، صباح كل يوم جمعة[١٦١]. إلا أن الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة يؤكد أن سمورة أخذ الطريقة عنه، وليس عن الشيخ عبد القادر عيسى[١٦٢].

٢- **الشيخ محمد سعيد الكردي الأيزولي**، أبوه كردي وأمه من عشيرة المومني المعروفة في الأردن. ولد عام ١٩٠٨، وقدم إلى الأردن من تركيا خلال الأربعينات، وسكن منطقة البارحة - قرب مخيم إربد، وأصبح فيها إماماً لمسجد النور، وأقام زاويته في الصريح بإربد عام ١٩٥٥م،

١٥٩- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة بتاريخ ٦ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م، وأشار إلى أن وفاته كانت في عمّان. وانظر: .http://www.rayaheen.net/trajem.php?cat=abdulqader ولمزيد من التفصيل أنظر: عبد القادر عيسى، حقائق عن التصوف، منشورات دار العرفان، حلب، الطبعة الحادية عشرة، ٢٠٠١، ص أ-ح.

١٦٠- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة بتاريخ ٦ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م

١٦١- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

١٦٢- مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة بتاريخ ٦ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

١– الطريقة الشاذلية الدرقاوية الهاشمية

ويعد الشيخ محمد بن الهاشمي التلمساني أصلاً الدمشقي سكناً، شيخ الطريقة الشاذلية الدرقاوية العلاوية في بلاد الشام، وإليه ترجع نسبة الهاشمية، ولد عام ١٨٨١م، في مدينة سبدو التابعة لمدينة تلمسان التي تُعد من أشهر المدن الجزائرية. هاجر عام ١٩١١م مع شيخه محمد بن بلَس إلى بلاد الشام هرباً من الاستعمار الفرنسي الذي منع الشعب الجزائري من حضور حلقات العلماء ودروسهم، فمكثا في دمشق أياماً، ثم ذهب هو إلى تركيا وأقام في أضنة، وبقي شيخه ابن يَلَس في دمشق. ثم عاد بعد سنتين إلى دمشق، فالتقى بشيخه ابن يلس وصحبه ولازمه إلى أن أذن له بالورد العام. ولما قدم الشيخ أحمد بن مصطفى العلاوي من الجزائر لأداء فريضة الحج، نزل في دمشق سنة ١٩٣٠م، وأذن لمحمد بن الهاشمي بالورد الخاص، وتلقين الاسم الأعظم، والإرشاد العام. وتوفي عام ١٩٦١م، وصُلي عليه في الجامع الأموي، ودُفن في مقبرة الدحداح بدمشق الشام[١٥٦].

خلف الشيخ الهاشمي في الطريقه إثنا عشر شيخاً[١٥٧]، ومن أبرزهم:

١– **الشيخ عبد القادر عيسى عزيزي الحلبي**، المولود في مدينة حلب الشهباء سنة ١٩٢٠. صحب في حلب الشيخ حسن حساني شيخ الطريقة القادرية وأذن له بالطريقة، ثم انتقل إلى دمشق سنة ١٩٥٢، وسلك فيها على يدي الشيخ محمد الهاشمي التلمساني، وقد منحه الإذن بالطريقة الشاذلية سنة ١٩٥٨م. وهناك من يشكّك في صحة هذا الإذن[١٥٨]. ومعظم إقامته كانت بمدينة حلب في سوريا، وانتقل إلى المدينة المنورة ليقيم فيها لمدة خمس سنوات، ثم قدم إلى

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١٥٦– صفحة الطريقة الهاشمية الدرقاوية الشاذلية على الفيسبوك، الرابط: http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=211953578844863&comments
وانظر: http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/محمد_الهاشمي_التلمساني

١٥٧– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ إسماعيل الكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م. ويزعم الشيخ أحمد الردايدة في مقابلة خاصة بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١ أن الشيخ الهاشمي لم يخلّف بالطريقة إلا الشيخ محمد سعيد البرهامي، وأن هذا الأخير عاش سنة ثم توفي من دون أن يوصي لأحد بالطريقة.

١٥٨– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ مصطفى أبو رمان بتاريخ ٣ / ٦ / ٢٠١١م.

وهو ما تمثل بالدعوة إلى «الطريقة المحمدية» التي تتخذ من النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم قدوة وأسوة حسنة مع البقاء على انتماءاتهم الطرقية، ومن هؤلاء المجددين الإصلاحيين الشيخ المغربي العربي الدرقاوي (ت١٢٣٨ه / ١٨٢٣م)، الذي وجه عنايته إلى العمل الروحي وليس على النظرية الصوفية كشأن المتصوفة الأوائل، ودعى إلى الانخلاع عن الدنيا والزهد، وبهذا ساهم الدرقاوي في تنمية الشاذلية وفروعها (الدرقاوي والمدنية واليشرطية والعلوية)، وهذه الطرق تتمتع اليوم بحضور كبير في الأردن.

أما الطرق الصوفية في الأردن التي تتوافر على هيكلية تنيظيمية تقليدية راسخة فهي:

أولا: الطريقة الشاذلية

تعتبر الطريقة الشاذلية من أكبر الطرق الصوفية في الأردن وأكثرها انتشارا، وتنتسب إلى مؤسسها أبو الحسن الشاذلي (ت٦٥٦ه/١٢٥٨م)، وقد رحل إلى المشرق طلبا للعلم وبحثا عن القطب الروحي في عصره إلا أنه وجده في الريف المغربي، ألا وهو عبد السلام بن مشيش (٦٢٥ه/١٢٢٨م)، وهو عابد متوحد تقع زاويته على قمة جبل وهي إلى اليوم محط أنظار الزائرين، دخل الشاذلي الخلوة في الجبال الواقعة بين تونس والقيروان قرب قرية تدعى «الشاذلية» وإليها ينسب، إلا أنه اتخذ من اسمه مدلولا روحيا يشير إلى الانصراف عن الدنيا من فعل «شذ» والفرار إلى الله (الشاذ لي).

حظي بشعبية كبيرة بسبب بساطة طريقته مما جلب عليه عداوة الفقهاء، حيث اضطر إلى مغادرة البلاد واستقر في الاسكندرية، سنة ٦٤١ه / ١٢٤٤م، وتعتمد طريقته على تجريد الباطن والاقبال على الله والتركيز على الذكر، وحث أتباعه على الاندماج في المجتمع والتمسك بالشريعة والتقيد بالسنة، كشرط لدخول الطريقة، ولم يكن مهتما بالمسائل الميتافيزيقية الفلسفية التي طورها ابن عربي، ولم يترك آثارا مكتوبة ولا تابعه وتلميذه أبو العباس المرسي (ت٦٨٦ه/١٢٨٧م)، إلا أن تأثيره الروحي واضح في أحزابه وأشهرها «حزب البحر»، وقد عمل أحد أتباعه اللاحقين على تطوير الشاذلية، وهو المصري ابن عطاء الله (ت٧٠٨ه / ١٣٠٩م)، وعمل على توسيع دائرة انتشارها في كافة أنحاء العالم الإسلامي بفضل كتابه المعروف بـ «الحكم العطائية»، وكتاب «لطائف المنن»، الذي يمثل العهد الروحي والنص المذهبي المرجعي للشاذلية، ومن أقطاب الشاذلية الجزولي (ت بين ٨٦٩ه / ١٤٦٥م و٨٧٤ه / ١٤٧٠م)، وله مؤلف في الصلاة على النبي صلي الله عليه وسلم منتشرة في العالم الإسلامي، ضمنها في كتابه «دلائل الخيرات»، ومن كبار الشيوخ الشاذلية أحمد زروق من مدينة فاس ومن أشهر مؤلفاته «قواعد التصوف» و«عدة المريد الصادق».

ومن أبرز التجديدات التي ظهرت خلال القرنين الثامن عشر والتاسع عشر الميلادي، الدعوة لإصلاح التصوف من خلال الدعوة إلى العودة إلى ينابيعه الصافية والالتزام بالكتاب والسنة

وبهذا فإن مصادر الطرق الصوفية قي الأردن متنوعه وتعتبر سوريا وفلسطين والمغرب والعراق من أهم روافدها، وهناك شخصيات وجماعات عديدة في الأردن تنتمي إلى التصوف خارج إطار الطريقة التقليدية، كجماعة الأحباش التي أسسها الشيخ عبدالله الحبشي الهرري، الذي ينتمي للطريقة الرفاعية، وذلك في بداية التسعينيات، وأسست عام ١٩٩٤م جمعية الثقافة العربية الإسلامية، وجماعة التبليغ والدعوة، وقد دخلت الجماعة إلى الأردن عام ١٩٦٤م، من شبه القارة الهندية، وتنتمي تاريخيا إلى الطريقة الششتية، والطباعيات وهي جماعة نسائية تتزعمها فادية الطباع وتتبع منيرة القبيسي في سوريا، والتي بدورها كانت من تلاميذ مفتي سوريا الراحل الشيح أحمد كفتارو وهو شيخ الطريقة النقشبندية.

من المسجد الحسيني وسط عمّان، بعد وفاته خلف على الطريقة عدد من الشيوخ أمثال: الشيخ شحادة الطبيري وله زاوية في وسط معان، والشيخ أحمد حسن شحادة الردايدة وله عدد من الزوايا في مدينة إربد، والدكتور محمد الفيلالي وهو ابن الشيخ وزاويته في مدينة الزرقاء، والشيخ إبراهيم الفالوجي وله زاوية في ضاحية الأمير حسن في عمّان، والشيخ على الحسيني وله زاوية في منطقة شفا بدران في عمان، والشيخ عبد القادر علي آل الشيخ وله زاوية في حي الجندويل في عمان.

أما الطريقة الرفاعية قد دخلت الأردن عن طريق عدد من الشيوخ أمثال عبد الحافظ النويهي الذي قدم إلى الأردن من فلسطين، واستقرّ في منطقة سحاب عام ١٩٤٨م، ثم انتقل إلى جبل الجوفة في عمّان، وخلّف في الطريقة بعد وفاته عام ٢٠٠٢م، ولده الشيخ محمد، والشيخ فارس الرفاعي وله عدد من الزوايا في عمّان والمفرق وجرش، ومن شيوح الطريقة عمر الصرفندي، وقد قدم إلى الأردن بعد نكبة عام ١٩٤٨م، وأسس مسجدا وزاية في جبل النصر في عمّان، كما دخلت الطريقة الرّواسية الرفاعية عن طريق عدد من الشيوخ أمثال: الشيخ على أبو زيد وعند وفاته عام ١٩٩٧م، خلّف في الطريقة الشيخ محمود الفقيه وله زاوية في منطقة الرصيفة، والشيخ الدكتور معاذ سعيد حوّى، ونشط الطريقة ونشرها في الأردن الشيخ ناصر الدين الخطيب الذي قدم إلى الأردن من فلسطين عام ١٩٦٧م، وأسس في منطقة جبل الزهور في عمّان مسجدا وزاية وأنشأ قناة الصوفية.[١٥٤]

ودخلت الطريقة القادرية إلى الأردن عن طريق تلاميذ الشيخ محمد هاشم البغدادي، وهو من فلسطين وأسس تلاميذه ومريديه عددا من الزوايا في عمّان والزرقاء وإربد والرصيفة، ومن شيوخ الطريقة القادرية الشيخ عبد الحليم القادري، وقد قدم إلى الأردن عام ١٩٣٨م، وأسس زاوية في منطقة الشونة الجنوبية، ثم انتقل إلى عمان عام ١٩٦٦م،وأسس زاوية في منطقة الهاشمي، وخلّف عند وفاته في الطريقة عام ١٩٩٨م ولده محمد عبد الحليم القادري[١٥٥]، كما دخلت الطريقة القادرية الكسنزانية إلى الأردن من العراق بعد اشتداد العنف الطائفي عقب دخول القوات الأمريكية عام ٢٠٠٣م، وأقامت زاوية في منطقة ماركا الشمالية.

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١٥٤– مقابلة مع الشيخ ناصر الدين الخطيب بتاريخ ٣١ / ٥ / ٢٠١١.

١٥٥– مقابلة مع الشيخ محمد عبد لحليم القادري بتاريخ ٨ / ٦ / ٢٠١١.

ويمكن القول بأن الطريقة الشاذلية الدرقاوية االهاشمية والعلاوية الفلالية من أكثر الطرق انتشارا في الأردن، ويعود الفضل بنشرها للشيخ محمد الهاشمي التلمساني أصلا الدّمشقي سكنا فقد أخذ على يديه الطريقة عدد من الشيوخ في الأردن أمثال: الشيخ عبد االقادر عيسى الحلبي الذي استقر في الأردن أواخر الثمانينيات ثم غادرها إلى تركيا وتوفي عام ١٩٩١م، وخلفه في الطريقة الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة الذي عمل على نشر التصوف في مدينة عمان عندما عمل مدرسا في المسجد الحسيني، وافتتح زاوية قريبة ثم أسس مسجد دار القرآن وزاوية في منطقة حي نزال[١٥١]، والشيخ عبد الهادي سمورة. إلا أن الشيخ محمد سعيد الكردي من أشهر مشايخ التصوف في الأردن، فقد قدم إلى الأردن من تركيا خلال عقد الأربعينيات، وسكن منطقة البارحة قرب مخيم إربد وأقام زاويته في الصريح بإربد عام ١٩٥٥م، وأسس فيها مدرسة شرعية، ويصفه أتباعه بمؤسس التصوف في الأردن[١٥٢]. وبعد وفاته عام ١٩٧٢م، خلف في الطريقة الشيخ عبد الرحمن الشاعوري في دمشق، وكلف الشيخ عبد الكريم المومني بمهام الطريقة في الأردن، وقد حدث نزاع على مشيخة الطريقة، وخلف الشاغوري على الطريقة في الأردن الشيخ يونس حمدان إلا أنه اعتزل بعد فترة، وخلف كذلك الشيخ أحمد الجمال من مدينة حماة السورية وهو مقيم في الأردن، والشيخ حاميم كلر وهو من أصل أمريكي ويقيم في الأردن، وكذلك الشيخ محمد سعيد الكردي وله زاويتان في إربد[١٥٣].

أما الشيخ عبد الكريم المومني فقد خلف بالطريقة عند وفاته عام ١٩٩١م، الشيخ عبد الكريم العرابي وهو من مواليد بئر السبع بفلسطين سنة ١٩٤٢م، وقد هاجر إلى الاردن بعد نكبة ١٩٤٨م، ويقيم في منطقة حكما بإربد، وله عدد من الزوايا في عمان ومأدبا والطفيلة وسحاب وإربد، ومن شيوخ التصوف البارزين من تلاميذ الكردي والهاشمي الشيخ أحمد الخضري، وكان له مجلس للذكر في المسجد الحسيني حتى وقت قريب.

أما الشاذلية الدرقاوية الفيلالية فقد دخلت إلى الأردن عن طريق الشيخ مصطفى عبد السلام الفيلالي، وهو من أصل مغربي أقام في القدس ونشر الطريقة في فلسطين والأردن، وذهب بعد نكبة فلسطين في عام ١٩٤٨ إلى سوريا ثم رجع إلى عمان عام ١٩٥٣م، حيث أسس زاوية بالقرب

١٥١- مقابلة مع الشيخ حازم أبو غزالة بتاريخ ٦ / ٦ / ٢٠١١.
١٥٢- أنظر محمد نجاح النوباني، محمد سعيد الكردي، دار المناهج، عمان ١٩٩٧.
١٥٣- مقابلة مع الشيخ اسماعيل اكردي بتاريخ ١٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١.

وتعتبر الطريقة الشاذلية الغظفية القادرية من أقدم الطرق الصوفية التي دخلت الأردن بداية القرن العشرين قبل تأسيس الإمارة ومؤسسها الشيخ محمد الأغظف الداودي في موريتانيا، وقد دخلت الطريقة الأردن عن طريق الشريف محمد الأمين بن زين القلقمي حيث أقام له زاوية بالقرب من مدينة عمان والتفت حوله بعض قبائل شرق الأردن، ويعد أول من عمر منطقة الرشيدية والطفيلة خلال العشرينيات من القرن الماضي، وقد ذهب إلى تركيا وقاتل إلى جانب الأتراك، ثم توفي فيها عام ١٩٦٩م، مخلفا في الطريقة ولده زين العابدين الذي قرر مغادرة الأردن إلى موريتانيا لقتال الفرنسيين. ويشير الشيخ عايش الحويان لسند آخر للطريقة عن طريق عالم مغربي إلتقى بالشيخ فلاح الحنيطي وأعطاه الطريقة الغظفية، الذي باشر بنشر الطريقة خلال العشرينيات، وبعد وفاته خلف في الطريقة عدد من الشيوخ أمثال: خالد أبو زيتون، ومحمود سليم الثلجي، وعايش الحويان[١٤٩].

أما الطريقة الشاذلية اليشرطية فقد دخلت إلى الأردن خلال العقد الثالث من القرن الماضي عن طريق بعض الأفراد الذين استوطنوا الأردن من أتباع الطريقة، وبعد نكبة فلسطين عام ١٩٤٨م، استقر عدد من أتباعها في الأردن وأقاموا زاوية في عمان، وشيخها أحمد اليشرطي مقيم في عمان مننذ عام ١٩٨٠.

ودخلت الطريقة الخلوتية الجامعة بعد أن نفى الانجليز الشيخ خير الدين عبد الرحمن الشريف، وهو من مدينة الخليل بفلسطين إثر نشاطه الثوري المعارض للإنجليز إلى منطقة الكرك، وقد التف حوله عدد من المريدين في منتصف العشرينيات، ثم رجع بعدها إلى فلسطين، وبعد وفاته جاء ابنه الشيخ حسن الشريف إلى الأردن عام ١٩٥١م، واستقر في منطقة وادي السير، وأسس مدرسة وزاوية للطريقة، ثم خلفه في الطريقة ولده الشيخ حسني الشريف بعد خلاف واتقسام داخل الطريقة، وعند تسلم الشيخ عبد الحي القاسمي مشيخة الطريقة هاجر من فلسطين إلى مدينة إربد بعد نكبة عام ١٩٤٨م، وأسس لعدد من الزوايا في إربد وعمان، ويتولى الطريقة القاسمية في االوقت الحالي الشيخ عبد الرؤوف القاسمي ويتردد على مريديه بين الأردن وفلسطين[١٥٠].

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١٤٩– مقابلة مع الشيخ عايش الحويان بتاريخ ٢٩ / ٥ / ٢٠١١.

١٥٠– مقابلة مع الشيخ حسني الشريف بتاريخ ٢ / ٦ / ٢٠١١.

لقد عرف الأردن الصوفية كسائر أنحاء العالم الإسلامي، وشهد مسار تطور التصوف الإسلامي وتحولاته العميقة، والذي ظهر في بداياته في القرن السابع الميلادي كظاهرة فردية شخصية ذات طبيعة نخبوية؛ ثم تبلور تاريخيا كظاهرة اجتماعية منذ القرن الحادي عشر، واستقر تصوفا طرقيا شعبيا خلال القرن السابع عشر، إبان الدولة العثمانية التي استدخلته أيديولوجيا، وقد ساهمت سهولة الحركة والانتقال داخل بلدان العالم الإسلامي بتوطن عائلات صوفية عريقة أرض الأردن من شتى أنحاء العالم الإسلامي، وخصوصا من العراق والشام وفلسطين والأناضول، كالرفاعية ووالزعبية والعمرية والربابعة ووالمستريحية والملكاوية والصمادية والكيلانية والجعافرة وغيرها[١٤٧]، فضلا عن عائلات شركسية وشيشانية وكردية، ومع حلول القرن التاسع عشر ساد نمط التدين الشعبي المجتمع الأردني، في سياق التحولات التي طالت الدين الإسلامي بقراءاته المتعددة الظاهرية والتأويلية والعرفانية، وساهم تفكك الدولة العثمانية وانهيارها عقب دخول الحقبة الاستعمارية بإضعاف البنى التقليدية للمجتمع، ومع ظهور الدولة الوطنية كانت هذه الأبنية التقليدية قد قطعت شوطا بعيدا في مسار التفتيت بفعل سياسات التحديث.

تشير بدايات التصوف الحديث في المجتمع الأردني إلى نهاية القرن التاسع عشر إبان حكم الدولة العثمانية التي عملت على إرسال شيوخ ومفتين ينتمون إلى المدرسة الصوفية كالشيخ مصطفى الكيلاني الذي استقر في مدينة السلط وكان مفتيا ومعلما ينتمي إلى الطريقة القادرية إلا أنه لم يترك تلاميذ وشيوخ للطريقة عند وفاته عام ١٨٩١م، ويعتبر الشيخ محمد القذف من أوائل الشخصيات التي نشرت التصوف في الأردن منذ قدومه إلى السلط عام ١٩١٠م، من موريتانيا حيث التف حوله عشرات المريدين لأخذ الطريقة الشاذلية على يديه وممن أخذ الطريقة الشيخ عبد الحليم الكيلاني الذي لم يتمكن من أخذ الطريقة القادرية على يد والده الشيخ مصطفى لصغر سنه وقد أخذ الطريقة النقشبندية عن الشيخ نعمة الله النقشبندي عند قدومه من دمشق إلى الأردن، وأصبح الشيخ عبد الحليم ممثلا لجماعة الإخوان المسلمين في السلط وحصلت بينه وبين الشيخ حسن البنا مؤسس جماعة الإخوان المسلمين في مصر مراسلات وعند وفاته عام ١٩٦٨، خلف وراءه في الطريقة الشيخ محمد أمين فهيم مصطفى الكيلاني[١٤٨].

الرابط: http://www.wasatyea.net/ConferencePrint.aspx?ConferenceID=26

١٤٧- لمزيد من التفصيل حول جذور التصوف في الأردن، أنظر: الدكتور أيمن إبراهيم حسن الشريدة، الفكر الصوفي في الأردن، دراسة في التاريخ الاجتماعي الديني، سلسلة من تاريخ شرقي الأردن، ٢٠١٠م.

١٤٨- مقابلة مع الشيخ محمد أمين الكيلاني بتاريخ ١٥ / ٦ / ٢٠١١.

يؤكد المتصوفة على أن الأردن بؤرة للروحانية وبيئة خصبة للتصوف، فقد استشهد على ترابها قرابة عشر آلاف صحابي، عشرون منهم مقاماتهم معروفة، وتقع فيها منطقة مؤتة التي دارت فيها معركة بين المسلمين والروم في العام الثامن للهجرة (٦٢٩م)، وبذلك فأرضها تعتبر موقعاً مقدساً[١٤٥]. وبحسب الصوفية شهدت أرض الأردن عبر تاريخها الديني حراكاً دينياً واسعا، كما جاءت نصوص دينية كثيرة تدل على أن أرضها مباركة، كما جاء في قوله تعالى: «ونجيناه ولوطاً إلى الأرض التي باركنا فيها للعالمين» (الأنبياء:٧١). وقوله تعالى: «ولسليمان الريح عاصفة تجري بأمره إلى الأرض التي باركنا فيها، وكنّا بكل شيء عالمين» (الأنبياء:٨١). وقوله تعالى: «سبحان الذي أسرى بعبده ليلاً من المسجد الحرام إلى المسجد الأقصى الذي باركنا حوله لنريه من آياتنا أنه هو السميع البصير» (الإسراء:١).

فالأردن أرض مباركة فقد وطئتها أقدام معظم الأنبياء والرسل، ومنهم من عاش ومات ودُفن فيها، وهي المسرح الذي شهد الكثير من القصص في القرآن الكريم، وضم مقام النبي شعيب عليه السلام، ومقام النبي موسى عليه السلام، والخضر، ونوح، وهود عليهم السلام، وكذلك مساكن ثمود وقوم صالح عليه السلام، ومساكن قوم لوط عليه السلام، ومقام النبي هرون ويوشع وسليمان، وأيوب، ويحيى «يوحنا المعمدان» والمسيح، عليهم السلام. ويرتبط الأردن بأوشاح تاريخية ودينية لها علاقة بالتصوف، إذ توجد أضرحة لأعلام متصوفة كبار أمثال الجنيد وسليمان الداراني، وبهذا فالأردن بلد الأولياء الصالحين كما يقول المتصوفة[١٤٦].

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١٤٥– مقابلة خاصة مع الشيخ عون القدومي بتاريخ ٢٣ / ٥ / ٢٠١١م.

١٤٦– أنظر: أ.د.محمد أحمد الرواشدة، الحالة الدينية في الأردن: الصوفية أُنموذجاً، على

الطرق الصوفية في الأردن

عن طريقته وعصى أمره عجلت له العقوبة الإلهية وقد يتعرض للموت، وهو ما أثار عليه الفقهاء والمتصوفة معا، وتمتع التيجاني برعاية الأسرة المالكة منذ كان في فاس وتمكن من نشر طريقته في المغرب وتأسيس شبكة واسعة، وهو على غرار شيوخ الشاذلية لم يلزم تلاميذه بالتخلي عن طيبات الدنيا، إلا أنه دعاهم إلى الاستكثار من الشكر على النعم، وكان هو بنفسه يعيش في بحبوحة ورغد، وقد انتشرت التيجانية بعد موته في افريقيا الغربية المسلمة (السنغال وغينيا ومالي)، بفضل جهود أتباعه من أمثال عمر طال (ت١٢٨٠ه / ١٨٦٤م)، وتمكنت التيجانية من تاسيس دولة إسلامية أطاح بها الفرنسيون سنة ١٨٩٣م، وقد أدخل الطريقة إلى السودان الداعية الموريتاني محمد بن المختار (ت١٢٩٩ه / ١٨٨٢م)، وانتشرت بشكل واسع، وتعد التيجانية كبرى الطرق الصوفية في إفريقيا جنوب الصحراء.

ومن أبرز الإصلاحيين المتصوفة في القرن العشرين الشيخ أحمد العلوي (ت١٣٥٢ه / ١٩٣٤م)، وهو جزائري من مواليد مسغانم، وقد عمل على إصلاح التصوف وترك بعض الممارسات الطرقية والتركيز على أساسيات التصوف وهي ذكر الله، تميز بقوة الفكر والروح، ولذلك ساهمت شخصيته واختياراته العلمية بالانسلاخ عن الشاذلية الدرقاوية وتأسيس طريقته الخاصة المعروفة بالعلوية، وقد قام بنشر مجلة دورية منذ عام ١٩٢٣م، كان هدفها النهضة وإصلاح الإسلام في الجزائر والتصدي للإستعمار الفرنسي والتبشير المسيحي، ثم اسس أول رابطة لعلماء الجزائر بالاشتراك مع الإصلاحيين السلفيين بزعامة ابن باديس، ثم حدث اختلاف وهاجم السلفيين الإصلاحيين الطرق الصوفية دون تمييز، وبقي الشيخ العلوي ينادي برؤية إسلامية روحانية منفتحة على المجتمع الإسلامي والغرب، وكان يعتنق مذهب وحدة الوجود، وامتد تأثيره إلى كثير من بلدان العالم العربي والإسلامي وكذلك في الغرب وخصوصا فرنسا.

ومن الشيوخ المجددين الشيخ الشامي مصطفى البكري (ت١١٦٢ه / ١٧٤٩م)، الذي قام بإصلاحات واسعة في الطريقة الخلوتية ساهم في انتشارها بشكل واسع ومن تلاميذه خلال النصف الثاني من القرن الثامن عشر الشيخ حفني والشيخ الدردير وهو من علماء الأزهر، ولهذا تميزت الخلوتية بقربها من السنة وروحها التجديدية.

وشهدت الطريقة النقشبندية عددا من الأعلام المجددين أمثال مولانا خالد النقشبندي (ت١٢٤٢ه / ١٨٢٧م)، وهو من أصل كردي استقر في دمشق وتبنى الخط الإصلاحي لأحمد السرهندي، وأغنى الطريقة بطرق تعليمية جديدة ودعى إلى الالتزام لأحكم الشريعة، ومن أبرز تلاميذه الفقيه الحنفي الكبير ابن عابدين (ت١٢٥١ه / ١٨٣٦م)، وامتد تاثير النقشبندية الخالدية في القوقاز وقد عملت على تنظيم المقاومة المسلحة ضد الاجتياح الروسي، ويعتبر الإمام شامل (ت١٢٧٥ه / ١٨٥٩م)، من أبرز رموز المقاومة وكان وفيا للشيخ خالد النقشبندي حتى وفاته.

ومن أبرز المجددين للتصوف أحمد بن إدريس (ت١٢٥٢ه / ١٨٣٧م)، وقد درس العلوم الإسلامية في فاس وانتمى إلى فروع كثيرة للطرق الصوفية كالشاذلية والمدنية، ثم أقام في مكة حيث أعلن الدعوة للعودة إلى الكتاب والسنة والاجتهاد دون وساطة المذاهب الفقهية وحارب التقليد، وتعرض لعداوة الفقهاء فاضطر للذهاب إلى منطقة عسير باليمن، وعلى الرغم من عدم تركه مؤلفات مكتوبة إلا أن شخصيته القوية وعلمه الثري أغنت الطرق الصوفية وساهمت في انتشارها، ومن أقرب المقربين إليه محمد السنوسي (ت١٢٧٥ه / ١٨٥٩م)، وهو من مواليد الجزائر وتلقى العلوم الإسلامية في فاس ورحل إلى الجزيرة العربية وتمكن من نشر الطريقة السنوسية في ليبيا وفي المناطق الصحراوية المجاورة، وقد تبنت السنوسية الجهاد المسلح ضد الاستعمار الإيطالي لليبيا والانجليزي لمصر والفرنسي للجزائر والنيجر.

وتعتبر الطريقة التيجانية أحد مظاهر التجديد الصوفي، وهي تنتسب إلى أحمد التيجاني (ت١٢٣٠ه / ١٨١٥م)، وهو من منطقة تلمسان، ودرس العلوم الإسلامية في فاس، وأخذ التصوف بطرق صوفية عديدة، وزعم أنه رأى الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم سنة ١٧٨٢م في المنام يامره بتأسيس طريقة خاصة وادعى انه خاتم الأولياء، وهو يعتبر الديجانية متممة للطرق الصوفية السابقة ومتفوقة عليها، ومنع مريديه من الانتماء للطرق الأخرى وقال أن من انسلخ

وفي الأناضول انتشرت الطرق الصوفية وكان لتصوف جلال الدين الرومي (ت٦٧٢ه / ١٢٧٣م)، أثرا كبيرا فقد تميز تصوفه بصبغة كونية نظرا لرسالة الحب التي كان يتبناها، الأمر الذي تجاوز البرامج الطرقية، وتعتبر المولوية التي تنتسب إليه من أكثر الطرق انتشارا ونفوذا ويعد ابنه سلطان ولد (ت٧١٨ه / ١٣٢١م)، مؤسس الطريقة المولوية وهو من وضع قواعد الرقصة الدائرية المعروفة، والمصحوبة بالموسيقى والغناء والانشاد وترتيل الأذكار السماع والتي تمثل لدى المريدين رياضة صوفية بالغة التأثير، ويقع مركز الطريقة المولوية في مدينة قونيا حيث ينتصب المريدون حول ضريح «مولانا» جلال الدين الرومي، وقد عمل العثمانيين على توظيف الطريقة المولوية منذ القرن التاسع الهجري / الخامس عشر الميلادي لصالحهم في مواجهة المتصوفة المعارضين للحكم العثماني في جبال الأناضول، وقد انتشرت المولوية في مناطق عديدة من العالم الإسلامي.

شهدت الطرق الصوفية في العالم الإسلامي تراجعا وانحطاطا علميا منذ القرن التاسع الهجري / الخامس عشر الميلادي وتحولت إلى نمط من التدين الشعبي حيث سادت الخرافات وانتشر الجهل والشعوذة، الأمر الذي دعى إلى ظهور تيارات إصلاحية تنادي بتجديد التصوف وتنقيته من البدع والممارسات السيئة، حيث برز عدد من العلماء المجددين الذين عملوا على إدخال تجديدات على الطرق وقام بعضهم بتأسيس طرق جديدة، أمثال الشيخ على بن ميمون الفاسي (ت٩١٦ه / ١٥١١م)، الذي دعى إلى الانضباط بالأحكام الشرعية والاحتجاج على فساد العلماء وانحلال المتصوفة، ومع ذلك لم تخل الحقبة العثمانية من مظاهر التطور الإيجابي فقد أصبح الفكر الصوفي جزءا من الثقافة الإسلامية، وظهر عبد الغني النابلسي (ت١١٣٤ه / ١٧٣١م)، وهو صوفي ينتمي لطريقتين إلا أنه تمتع باستقلال عقلي وصنف في مختلف العلوم الإسلامية.

ومن أبزر التجديدات التي ظهرت خلال القرنين الثامن عشر والتاسع عشر الميلادي، الدعوة لإصلاح التصوف من خلال الدعوة إلى العودة إلى ينابيعه الصافية والالتزام بالكتاب والسنة وهو ما تمثل بالدعوة إلى «الطريقة المحمدية» التي تتخذ من النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم قدوة وأسوة حسنة مع البقاء على انتماءاتهم الطرقية، ومن هؤلاء المجددين الإصلاحيين الشيخ المغربي العربي الدرقاوي (ت١٢٣٨ه / ١٨٢٣م)، الذي وجه عنايته إلى العمل الروحي وليس على النظرية الصوفية كشأن المتصوفة الأوائل، ودعى إلى الانخلاع عن الدنيا والزهد، وبهذا ساهم الدرقاوي في تنمية الشاذلية وفروعها (الدرقاوي والمدنية واليشرطية والعلوية)، وهذه الطرق تتمتع اليوم بحضور كبير في العالم الإسلامي ومنه الأردن.

النقشبندية حتى الوقت الراهن، وهو يؤكد على العودة إلى الشرع ويدعو إلى الاقتداء بالنبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم وتمكن من إلزام الساسة بتطبيق الأحكام الفقهية، وامتد منذ بداية القرن الحادي عشر الهجري فرع المجددية التابع للسرهندي من الانتشار في الصين والجزيرة العربية وأندونيسيا ولا زالت هذه الطريقة من أكثر الطرق انتشارا في العالم الإسلامي.

أما في القوقاز فقد انتشرت الطرق الصوفية وفي مقدمتها الخلوتية التي أخذت اسمها من «الخلوة» وهي ما يميز الطريقة التي تنتسب إلى عمر خلوتي (ت٧٩٩ه / ١٣٩٧م)، ولقب بالخلوتي لأنه أحب الاختلاء داخل جذع شجرة، ويعود الفضل لتنظيم الطريقة إلى يحيى الشرواني (ت٨٦٧ه / ١٤٦٣م)، وهو من القوقاز، فقد عمل على ترسيخ البناء الهرمي للطريقة لكثرة أتباعها، وقد اكتسبت الخلوتية ثقة سلاطين آل عثمان بعد دخولها الأناضول في نهاية القرن التاسع الهجري ثم انتشرت في سائر أنحاء البلاد الواقعة تحت سيطرت العثمانيين وخصوصا مصر ومنها انتشرت في كافة أرجاء العالم العربي، ومما يدلل على مكانتها أن السلطان العثماني محمد الفاتح كان معلمه الروحي شيخ خلوتيا، وهي طريقة حضارية ظاهرة التمسك بالسنة تقوم على التدرج في السلوك بذكر الأسماء الإلهية.

وظهرت الطريق الصفوية في القرن الثامن الهجري على يد مؤسسها صفي الدين الأردبيلي (ت٧٣٤ه / ١٣٣٤م)، وهي تشترك في أصولها جغرافيا وتعليميا مع الخلوتية، وكانت سنية إلا أن شيوخها اتجهوا نحو التشيع في نهاية القرن التاسع الهجري، ثم جاء شاه اسماعيل (ت٩٣٠ه / ١٥٢٤م)، وأسس المملكة الصفوية وفرض التشيع الإثنا عشري في إيران وعمل على التضييق على التصوف السني.

أما في شبه القارة الهندية فقد برزت الطريقة الشِّشتية التي تنتسب إلى معين الدين الششتي (ت٦٣٣ه / ١٢٣٦م)، وانتشرت في كافة أرجاء الهند الإسلامية في كنف نظام الدين أولياء (ت٧٢٤ه / ١٣٢٤م)، ومن أبرز تلاميذه الشاعر الكبير أمير خسرو، وقد تميز كلاهما بثقافة صوفية هندية فارسية تمتاز بانفتاحها على الهندوسية، وخلال القرنين الثامن والتاسع الهجري ظهرت فروع كبيرة من الطرق الصوفية المبكرة كالطريقة الشطارية التي تنحدر من السهروردية، وشيخها عبد الله الشطاري (ت٨٩٠ه / ١٤٨٥م)، وقد تميز بالمشي مع مريدي مرتديا بزة عسكرية سوداء برفقة قرع الطبول.

إيران بعد القرن العاشر الهجري، فمنذ القرن التاسع الهجري ظهر في إيران فرع شيعي من الكبروية هو النوربخشية نسبة إلى محمد نوربخش (ت٨٦٩ه / ١٤٦٤م)، حيث أعلن أنه المهدي المنتظر وانتهت حركته السياسية بالفشل، ويوجد اليوم فرع في شيراز هو الذهبية لكون أتباعها تركوا المزاعم المهدوية وفارقوا النوربخشية.

ويظهر الانزياح التدريجي نحو التشيع في طريقة نعمة الله نسبة إلى شاه نعمة الله ولي (ت٨٣٤ه / ١٤٣١م)، حيث درس العلوم الإسلامية في شيراز معقل التسنن الإيراني، ثم تتلمذ خلال رحلته للحج على عبد الله اليافي (ت٧٦٨ه / ١٣٦٧م)، ثم عاد إلى مدينة قريبة من سمرقند واجتمعت حوله مجموعة كبيرة من المريدين والتلاميذ واشتهر، وكثر حساده ووشوا به إلى السلطان فاضطر إلى الإقامة قرب كرمان في فارس وتعرض أتباع طريقته في القرن الثالث عشر الهجري للاضطهاد حيث فر بعضهم وتشيع معظمهم.

أما الطريقة النقشبندية فهي الأبرز والأكثر انتشارا في آسيا الوسطى، وهي طريقة حافظت على توجهها السني ومواجهة التشيع، وتعتبر نفسها وريثة مباشرة للروحانية الخراسانية والمدرسة الملامتية التي ارتبطت بها، وهي تعتني بالزهد والورع وإصلاح الباطن، وقد انتظمت برعاية بهاء الدين نقشبند (ت٧٩١ه / ١٣٨٩م)، إلا أن النقشبندية يعتبرون عبد الخالق الغجدواني شيخ الطريقة الحقيقي، فهو الذي أدخل فيها سنة المواظبة على الذكر الباطني أو «ذكر القلب» اقتداءا بأبي بكر الصديق، وأصبح هذا النوع من الذكر علامة مميزة للطريقة، وقد وضع اتباع النقشبندية مجموعة من القواعد يمارسونها، وهي موجودة في التصوف مثل: «مراقبة الخطوات» و«محاسبة النفس» و«الخلوة في الجلوة» وغيرها.

ويقوم مبدأ الطريقة على مراعاة الانسجام بين الشرع والسلوك ولذلك استطاعت المحافظة على التسنن لدى مسلمي آسيا الوسطى، وبفضل الشيخ الخواجة أحرار (ت٨٩٥ه / ١٤٩٠م)، تمكنت من الهيمنة على طرق الصوفية الأخرى خلال القرن التاسع هجري، فقد عمل على تأسيس شبكة اقتصادية واسعة لحماية الفلاحين من الضرائب الظالمة ودعى الساسة لاحترام تعاليم الإسلام، واستطاعت النقشبندية الوصول إلى القوقاز وكردستان والأناضول ونالت الحظوة عند سلاطين آل عثمان، وامتد أثرها إلى العالم العربي ووصلت إلى الهند بفضل مجدد الألف الثانية للهجرة أحمد السرهندي (ت١٠٣٢ه / ١٦٢٤م)، وأصبح كتابه «المكتوبات» موضع تدبر

(ت٦٤١ه / ١٢٤٤م)، في الأقصر، وكان ابن عربي ضمن موجة المهاجرين المغاربة إلى المشرق عن هذا الطريق إلا أنه لم يؤسس لطريقة خاصة مع أن أثره أصبح واضحا وعميقا في معظم الطرق الصوفية بعد القرن السابع الهجري، ويعتبر ابن سبعين (ت٦٦٧ه / ١٢٦٨م)، ممن سار في هذا المسار الروحي وهو أندلسي أسس لمذهب الوحدة المطلقة، ومن أشهر أتباعه الأندلسي الششتري (ت٦٦٨ه / ١٢٦٩م)، وللشاذلية فرعان هما الحنيفية والوفائية، واستمر تأثيرهما وتقاسما المشهد الصوفي في مصر حتى العهد العثماني، وقد تغلغلت الشاذلية في أوساط العلماء.

ومن الطرق التي كان لها تأثير في مصر الأحمدية نسبة إلى أحمد البدوي (ت٦٧٤ه / ١٢٧٦م)، وهو من أصل مغربي أقام في طنطا في دلتا النيل لا يبرح شرفته إلى آخر أيامه، ولذلك يطلق على مريديه «السطوحية»، وتنتشر هذه الطريقة في الأوساط االريفية والطبقات الشعبية بخلاف الشاذلية. وهناك الطريقة البرهانية التي تنتسب إلى برهان الدين الدسوقي (ت٦٨٧ه / ١٢٨٨م)، وكان ينتمي لطرق عديدة، ثم أخذ الإذن بتأسيس طريقته الخاصة.

أما الشام فكانت خاضعة خلال القرنين السادس والسابع الهجريين، تحت تأثير المدارس العراقية فقد هاجر إليها كثير من أتباع القادرية، واستطاعت الطريقة البرهانية ترسيخ وجودها في أوساط علماء الحنابلة، ومنذ القرن التاسع الهجري سيتغذى التصوف الشامي من مصادر مغربية كالشاذلية، ومن القوقاز وآسيا الوسطى كالنقشبندية، التي لا تزال الأوسع انتشارا في الشام.

وفي آسيا الوسطى انتشرت الطرق الصوفية كالقلندرية وهي طريقة قامت على أساس التلفيق بين الديانات من خلال التفاعل مع الزهد الهندي البوذي وبحماية الأمير الفارسي جمال الدين الساوي (ت٦٢٩ه / ١٢٣٢م)، وانتشرت في الأناضول والشرق الأوسط، إلا أنها شهدت نفورا من الناس لعدم التزامهم بتعاليم الدين الإسلامية كتناول الخمر والحشيش، وممارسة اللواط وغيرها من الممارسات الغريبة عن تعاليم القرآن، ومن الطرق المنتشرة الكبروية التي تنتسب إلى نجم الدين كبري (ت٦١٨ه / ١٢٢١م)، من خوارزم، وقد اطلق علية هذا اللقب استعارة من الآية القرآنية «الطامة الكبرى»، وذلك لقدرته على الجدل والمناظرة وافحام الخصوم، وعلى الرغم من ارتباطه بالتصوف العراقي تمكن من تأسيس طريقة خاصة سنية إلا ان كثيرا من أتباعه توجهوا إلى التشيع من بعد وفاته، وقد توجهت بعض الطرق الصوفية السنية نحو التشيع في

(ت٥٧٦ه / ١١٩٨م)، وكان شديد التأثر بالإمام الغزالي رحل إلى الشرق طلبا للعلم والتصوف ثم أقام في بجاية في الجزائر وكثر تلاميذه الذين تولوا نشرة طريقته في المشرق، تميزت طريقته بالزهد وتهذ يب الأخلاق وإصلاح النفس.

ومن الطرق الصوفية الكبرى في المغرب الشاذلية التي تنتسب إلى مؤسسها أبو الحسن الشاذلي (ت٦٥٦ه / ١٢٥٨م)، رحل إلى المشرق طلبا للعلم وبحثا عن القطب الروحي في عصره إلا أنه وجده في الريف المغربي، ألا وهو عبد السلام بن مشيش (٦٢٥ه / ١٢٢٨م)، وهو عابد متوحد تقع زاويته على قمة جبل وهي إلى اليوم محط أنظار الزائرين، دخل الشاذلي الخلوة في الجبال الواقعة بين تونس والقيروان قرب قرية تدعى «الشاذلية» وإليها ينسب، إلا أنه اتخذ من اسمه مدلولا روحيا يشير إلى الانصراف عن الدنيا من فعل «شذ» والفرار إلى الله (الشاذلي)، فاكتسب شعبية كبيرة بسبب بساطة طريقته مما جلب عداوة الفقهاء، حيث اضطر إلى مغادرة البلاد واستقر في الاسكندرية، سنة ٦٤١ه / ١٢٤٤م، وتعتمد طريقته على تجريد الباطن والاقبال على الله والتركيز على الذكر، وحث أتباعه على الاندماج في المجتمع والتمسك بالشريعة والتقيد بالسنة، كشرط لدخول الطريقة، ولم يكن مهتما بالمسائل الميتافيزيقية الفلسفية التي طورها ابن عربي، ولم يترك آثارا مكتوبة ولا تابعه وتلميذه أبو العباس المرسي (ت٦٨٦ه / ١٢٨٧م)، إلا أن تأثيره الروحي واضح في أحزابه وأشهرها «حزب البحر»، حيث عمل أحد أتباعه اللاحقين على تطوير الشاذلية، وهو المصري ابن عطاء الله (ت٧٠٨ه / ١٣٠٩م)، وعمل على توسيع دائرة انتشارها في كافة أنحاء العالم الإسلامي بفضل كتابه المعروف بـ «الحكم العطائية»، وكتاب «لطائف المنن»، الذي يمثل العهد الروحي والنص المذهبي المرجعي للشاذلية، ومن أقطاب الشاذلية الجزولي (ت بين ٨٦٩ه / ١٤٦٥م و٨٧٤ه / ١٤٧٠م)، وله مؤلف في الصلاة على النبي صلي الله عليه وسلم منتشرة في العالم الإسلامي ضمنه في كتابه «دلائل الخيرات»، ومن كبار الشيوخ الشاذلية أحمد زروق من مدينة فاس ومن أشهر مؤلفاته «قواعد التصوف» و«عدة المريد الصادق».

وانتشرت الطرق الصوفية في مصر والشام، بعد القرن السابع الهجري، فقد كانت الاسكندرية جسرا للمتصوفة المغاربة كعبد الرزاق الجزولي (٥٩٤ه / ١١٩٨م)، تلميذ أبي مدين الذي قام بنشر الطريقة على الضفاف النيل، ولا يزال اثنان من اتباعه يعدون من الأولياء وهما الشيخ المغربي عبد الرحيم (٥٩٢ه / ١١٩٦م)، في قنا مصر، والمصري أبو الحجاج

ومن الطرق التي ظهرت في نفس الفترة الطريقة الرفاعية، التي أسسها احمد الرفاعي (ت٥٧٧ه / ١١٨٢م)، فقد أنشأ زاوية في جنوب العراق واستقطب آلاف التلاميذ والمريدين، وانتشرت تعاليمه في مختلف أنحاء العالم الإسلامي، وكان يدعو إلى الالتزام بالسنة النبوية والتمسك بالشريعة والتواضع، إلا أن أتباعه أدخلوا على تعاليمه وطريقته منذ القرن السابع الهجري ممارسات لا تتوافق مع توجهاته كضرب الشيش وهي عملية ثقب الأجساد والمشي على الجمر والدخول في النار وابتلاع الثعابين والسم.

وتشكل الطريقة السهروردية ثالث الطرق الكبرى التي ظهرت في العراق على يد مؤسسها شهاب الدين عمر السهروردي (٦٣١ه / ١٢٣٤م)، وهو تلميذ الجيلاني، رفض علم الكلام والفلسفة وتمسك بالزهد والروحانية، واعترض على التصوف الفلسفي لابن عربي، ونادى بالتصوف السني المعتدل وانتشرت طريقته حتى خارج الأوساط الصوفية، وهو صاحب كتاب «عوارف المعارف»، وهو من المؤلفات الصوفية المنهجية ومرتب على نحو منسجم فهو يعرض تفكيرا صوفيا متكاملا ومتماسكا ويشرح الممارسات الصوفية على ضوء الكتاب والسنة. ويتميز تصوف السهروردي بالزهد والاعتدال والرجوع إلى السنة والتمسك بالتراث الصوفي المبكر، ولذلك عرفت طريقته في مصر باعتبارها «طريقة الجنيد»، ترجم كتابه إلى مختلف اللغات الإسلامية وساهم في ضبط وتنظيم الطرق الصوفية، وانتشرت طريقته مختلف أنحاء العالم الإسلامي.

وفي الجهة المقابلة للمشرق ظهرت في المغرب والأندلس مجموعة من والشيوخ والطرق إلا أنها اتخذت في البداية طابعا فرديا نخبويا بسبب شيوع المذهب المالكي المعادي للتصوف إلى حد بلغ احراق كتاب «إحياء علوم الدين» للغزالي في قرطبة، ويعتبر ابن مسرة محمد بن عبدالله (ت٣١٩ه / ٩٣١م) أول من برز من الصويفة بالأندلس، وظهر أثره في مدرسة المرية المشبعة بالأفلاطونية المحدثة التي دشنت بداية التنظيم الصوفي الطرقي، ومن أبرز أعلامها ابن العريف (ت٥٣٦ه / ١١٤٣م)، صاحب كتاب «محاسن المجالس»، وقد تأثر فيه بالتصوف المشرقي، وفي إشبيليا بفضل ابن برجان في نفس الفترة، الذي لقي معارضة واسعة من الفقهاء والقضاة، وكذلك ابن قسي (ت٥٤٦ه / ١١٥١م)، الذي واجهة نفس المعارضة، ويعد ابن عربي (ت٥٩٣ه /١١٩٦م) من مدرسة مرسية، أبرز الصوفية الذين تركوا أثرا بالغا في شتى أنحاء العالم الإسلامي، ومن أبرز أعلام التصوف الاندلسي المغربي أبو مدين شعيب

وتركيب هذه الخصائص الثلاثة هو الذي يعطي لكل رباط أو مشيخة أصالتها ووحدتها وقوتها ويمد كل عضو فيها بنوع من الإحساس حتى يطمئن إلى كونه منتميًّا إلى هذا التنظيم القار المكين[١٤٣].

وإذا كان التصوف في الأردن لا ينفصل عن التصوف في العالمين العربي والإسلامي، باعتباره امتدادا طبيعيا في التاريخ والجغرافيا، وإذا كانت دروب الله الروحية تتناسل من أصول مؤسسة واحدة، ففي عالم الطرق الصوفية تتوالد من الطريقة الأم فروع ينتسب المريدون فيها إلى شيخها المؤسس، وفي حالات عديدة تضعف وتختفي بعض الطرق المتولدة وتظهر أخرى، وبعضها يندمج في طرق أخرى، وجميع الطرق الصوفية تخضع للتطور والتحول تقدما وتراجعا بقوة وتجديد شيوخها وأتباعها، ولذلك لا مناص من التعرف على أشهر وأكبر الطرق الصوفية وزواياها وحدود انتشارها قبل الدخول بتمثيلاتها في الأردن ومعرفة شيوخها واتباعها[١٤٤].

تعتبر العراق مهد الطرق الصوفية في مرحلة التأسيس ومن المرجح أن تكون الطريقة القادرية التي أسسها عبد القادر الجيلاني (ت٥٦١ه / ١١٦٦م) من أقدم الطرق الصوفية، والجيلاني من منطقة جيلان التي تقع في الشمال الغربي لإيران حاليا، قدم إلى بغداد ودرس الفقه الحنبلي والحديث وتعلم التصوف، ثم غادرها وعاش حياة تقشف وزهد لمدة عشرون عاما، ثم عاد بعدها إلى عاصمة الخلافة العباسية مرة أخرى وأقبل على التدريس والوعظ وحاز شهرة واسعة وجمهورا عريضا وتلاميذ كثر، وهو صاحب كتاب «الغنية لطالبي طريق الحق»، وهو كتاب يقدم عرضا لقواعد السلوك الصوفي، وقد انتشرت الطريقة القادرية انتشارا واسعا في شتى انحاء العالم الإسلامي.

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١٤٣- جان شوفليي، التصوف والمتصوفة، ص٧١.

١٤٤- اعتمدنا في التعريف بالطرق وانتشارها على: عبد العزيز بن عبدالله، معلمة التصوف الإسلامي، دار نشر المعرفة، الرباط، الطبعة الأولى، ٢٠٠١، ٣ / ٢٠٥-٢٢٣. ومحمد بن الطيب، إسلام المتصوفة، ص٩٩-١٢١. وكلاهما أخذ عن المؤلف الجماعي «طرق الله»: Les voies d'Allah: les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam d'origines à aujourd'hui, sous la direction de: A.Popovic et G.Veinstein, Paris, 1996.

لا جدال بأن التصوف الإسلامي كان في بداياته المبكرة تجربة فردية شخصية ذات طبيعة نخبوية، لأناس فضلوا العزلة والانكفاء على أنفسهم واستبطان ذواتهم زهدا في الدنيا وتقربا إلى ربهم طلبا للآخرة، إلا أن التصوف دخل منذ القرن الخامس الهجري / الحادي عشر الميلادي طورا جديدا وبرز ك «ظاهرة اجتماعية»، ثم لم يلبث مع بداية القرن السادس الهجري / الثاني عشر الميلادي أن تحول إلى ظاهرة واسعة الانتشار شملت كافة أرجاء العالم الإسلامي وازداد حضوره وتأثيره حتى القرن الحادي عشر الهجري / السابع عشر الميلادي، ثم تحول بعد هذا التاريخ إلى تصوفا طرقيا وبات «ظاهرة شعبية».

ويمكن القول إن أول طريقة صوفية ظهرت بشكل منظم واضح المعالم كانت في القرن السادس الهجري، بداية القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي[١٤١]، وقد تميزت منذ ظهورها بثلاث خصائص هي[١٤٢]:

١– الشيخ المؤسس الذي يرجع إليه أتباعه كلهم باعتباره رئيسًا للجماعة ومنظمًا للرابطة.

٢– الطريقة التي سنّها أو المذهب بما فيه من شعائر وطقوس وأوراد.

٣– نوع العلاقات التي تربط بين أفراد الجماعة، وهي علاقات تتوثق أحيانًا وتضعف أخرى.

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١٤١– فيلالي مختار الطاهر، نشأة المرابطين والطرق الصوفية وأثرهما في الجزائر خلال العهد العثماني ص٣٣.
١٤٢– جان شوفليي، التصوف والمتصوفة، ص٧١.

تكوثر دروب الله

وصانت عناصر الشخصية العربية في العهدين العثماني والاستعماري، ووقفت أمام حملات الغزو الثقافي والتبشيري[١٣٩]، وغدت قوة روحية واقتصادية واجتماعية، يفد إليها الحجاج والزوار ليجدوا المأوى والغطاء ومكانًا للعبادة والتأمل، وليستمعوا إلى النصيحة والوعظ والأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر[١٤٠].

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١٣٩– عبد القادر الشطي: المصدر السابق، ص٣١٠.

١٤٠– جان شوفليي، التصوف والمتصوفة، ترجمة عبد القادر قنيني، دار إفريقيا الشرق، بيروت، طبعة ١٩٩٩م، ص٧٣.

وترجع تسمية هذه الطرق إلى أسماء أقطابها ومشائخها البارزين المشهورين، وقد تخلدت أسماؤهم بنسبتها إليهم، وربما رجعت تسمية الطرق إلى أقطابها باعتبار اجتهادهم فيها وخدمتهم لها، فأطلق هذه التسميات مريدوهم وتلاميذهم وأتباعهم ومحبوهم، فإضافة الطرق إلى أسماء هؤلاء الأقطاب لم تكن بأمرهم وإنما حدثت من غيرهم لأن كل واحد من المشايخ كانت له آثار واضحة في نشاطه واجتهاده في ترتيب أذكار وتوظيف أوراد وإضافة بعض الآداب والأخلاق[١٣٥].

ومع ذلك فلا تقتصر معظم الطرق على مشايخها الذين تسمت بهم فهناك شخصيات كثيرة تنتحلها وتنتسب إليها كأبي القاسم الجنيد ابن محمد، وأبي يزيد البسطامي الذي وجد في سلاسل فرق كثيرة كالنقشبندية[١٣٦]، فالمتصوفة عمومًا اهتموا بتتبع سلاسل مشايخ التصوف وعلمائه وخاصة بعد أن ضعف التصوف واحتاج الأمر إلى سند يجلب احترام المريدين وإعجاب الناس، وهذه السلاسل الكثيرة التي أوردها المتصوفة ينتظم في سندها المتصوفين المعروفين منذ نشأة التصوف إلى وقت تنظيم الطرق الصوفية[١٣٧].

تميزت الطرق الصوفية عن التصوف المبكر كونها تبنت طابعًا خاصًا وأسلوبًا معينًا ومحددًا في الوصول إلى الفناء والشهود، وإذا كان بعض هذه الطرق قد أسس قبل الغزو المغولي -٦٥٦ه/١٢٥٨م- فإنها تعددت وتشعبت منذ القرن الرابع عشر الميلادي في أنحاء العالم الإسلامي، وكان أول من نادى بها وأسسها عبد القادر الجيلاني في بغداد[١٣٨]. وقد أسست هذه الطرق زوايا كانت ملاذًا وملجأ ومحضن تربية وتعليم لأتباعها ومريديها، فالزاوية عبارة عن مؤسسة تعليمية تربوية تهذيبية وتثقيفية للنفوس والعقول والأرواح، كما قامت بتقديم خدمات اجتماعية وأعمال إنسانية كإيواء العجزة والأرامل والأيتام والفقراء والمعوزين والغرباء وأبناء السبيل، وبهذا دافعت الزاوية عن القيم الأخلاقية وحافظت على مقومات الهوية الوطنية

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١٣٥- عبد القادر الشطي، حقيقة السلفية الوفية مذهب أهل الحق الصوفية، مطبعة دار هومة، الجزائر، ط ٢٠٠٢م، ص٣٣٣-٣٣٤.

١٣٦- سبنسر ترمنجهام، الفرق الصوفية في الإسلام، ص٣٧.

١٣٧- فيلالي مختار الطاهر، نشأة المرابطين والطرق الصوفية وأثرهما في الجزائر خلال العهد العثماني، ص٣٣، ومن المؤلفات التي اهتمت بسلاسل مشائخ التصوف وعلمائه: الرسالة القشيرية لأبي القاسم القشيري وصفة الصفوة لابن الجوزي.

١٣٨- فيلالي مختار الطاهر، نشأة المرابطين والطرق الصوفية، ص٣٤.

يحكي واقع الحال لما وصل إليه التصوف خلال العهدين العثماني والاستعماري من تصور وجوب وقوع الكرامات وخوارق العادات على أيدي زعماء التصوف ليكونوا أهلاً للمشيخة[١٣٠]. ويمكن القول إن أول طريقة صوفية ظهرت بشكل منظم واضح المعالم كانت في القرن السادس الهجري، بداية القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي[١٣١]، وقد تميزت منذ ظهورها بثلاث خصائص هي[١٣٢]:

١- الشيخ المؤسس الذي يرجع إليه أتباعه كلهم باعتباره رئيسًا للجماعة ومنظمًا للرابطة.

٢- الطريقة التي سنّها أو المذهب بما فيه من شعائر وطقوس وأوراد.

٣- نوع العلاقات التي تربط بين أفراد الجماعة، وهي علاقات تتوثق أحيانًا وتضعف أخرى.

وتركيب هذه الخصائص الثلاثة هو الذي يعطي لكل رباط أو مشيخة أصالتها ووحدتها وقوتها ويمد كل عضو فيها بنوع من الإحساس حتى يطمئن إلى كونه منتميًّا إلى هذا التنظيم القار المكين[١٣٣].

وكانت هذه الخصائص مطلوبة، خصوصا في مناطق وعصور عمّتها الغزوات ومزقتها الحروب وفككتها خلافات الأسر المتنافسة على وراثة الحكم وقطعت أواصر العلاقات بينها الانقسامات الدينية اللاهوتية وفرقت بينها الصراعات الثقافية والحضارية، كل ذلك ولّد مناخًا باعثًا على القلق فكان الانتماء إلى جماعة بنت علاقتها على الانسجام الروحي هو الذي يُطمع معه أن يخفف من وطأة هذا المناخ الكئيب[١٣٤].

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١٣٠- الدكتور عبدالرحمن تركي، نشأة الطرق الصوفية بالجزائر دراسة تاريخية، مجلة الإسلام وطن، عدد شهر صفر ١٤٣١ ه، ص٢.

١٣١- فيلالي مختار الطاهر، نشأة المرابطين والطرق الصوفية وأثرهما في الجزائر خلال العهد العثماني، ص٣٣.

١٣٢- جان شوفليي، التصوف والمتصوفة، ترجمة عبد القادر قنيني، دار إفريقيا الشرق، بيروت، طبعة ١٩٩٩م، ص٧١.

١٣٣- جان شوفليي، التصوف والمتصوفة، ص٧١.

١٣٤- جان شوفليي، التصوف والمتصوفة، ص٧١-٧٢.

١– أنها أسلوب عملي لرعاية سلوك المريد وتوجيهه عن طريق اقتفاء أثر طريقة معينة في التفكير والشعور والذكر والتعلم والعمل تؤدى من خلال تعاقب مراحل المقامات وتصاعدها في ارتباط متكامل مع التجارب السيكولوجية أو النفسية المسماة أحوال، وقد كانت الطريقة تعني أولاً ببساطة ذلك المنهج التدريجي للتصوف التأملي وتحرير الروح والذكر المتواصل بالتجمع حول شيخ معترف به طلبًا للتدريب خلال الاتصال أو الصحبة[١٢٧].

٢– أنها سلطة قوية بما تملك من أتباع وأموال مختلفة، وسلطة روحية معنوية على الناس من خلال مشائخها[١٢٨].

٣– أنها اعتراف المريد بالولاء التام والإيمان الكامل والانقياد المطلق لشيخ الطريقة، الذي يعد من الأولياء الصالحين في نظر المؤمنين به، والذي يستمد نفوذه على أتباعه من القدرة الخارقة للطبيعة (أي الخوارق والكرامات)، والإتيان بما يعجز عنه البشر عادة، والاستمداد من العلم اللدني[١٢٩].

وتتكون الطريقة الصوفية من الشيخ العالم أو المربي أو المعلم ذي السلطة الروحية التي اكتسبها بسبب اجتهاده وتعليمه أو لعلو مكانته الاجتماعية بين عشيرته وبين الناس، ومن المريد الذي يعد تلميذًا وسالكًا في الطريق بهدي شيخه، والوسائل التعليمية التربوية والطقوس التعبدية والتعاليم التي يلزم المريد التشبث بها إيمانًا أو قولاً أو عملاً. والطريقة الصوفية سلطة حاكمة تأمر وتنهى، تتسع صلاحيات هذه السلطة وتقوى بحسب الظروف الاجتماعية والسياسية، كما تقوى بحسب ما تملك من مؤيدين وأتباع وأموال وبحسب قوة شخصية الشيخ أو المؤسس وأعماله وآثاره، ونلاحظ في التعريف الثالث أنه

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١٢٧– سبنسر ترمنجهام، الفرق الصوفية في الإسلام، ترجمة عبد القادر البحراوي، دار النهضة العربية، بيروت، ط١، ١٩٩٧م، ص٢٦.

١٢٨– محمد الأمين بلغيث، السلطة في الجزائر وتونس في القرن ١٧م من خلال تاريخ العدواني، الندوة الفكرية الخامسة للشيخ محمد العدواني، الزقم / الوادي / ٠١، ٠٢، ٠٣ نوفمبر ٢٠٠٠م، ص٦.

١٢٩– فيلالي مختار الطاهر: نشأة المرابطين والطرق الصوفية وأثرهما في الجزائر خلال العهد العثماني، دار الفن القرافيكي، باتنة، ط١، ص٦٤.

شهد التصوف في سياق التحول التاريخي مسارات ومسالك متعددة، فالطبيعة الفردية كتجربة شخصية نخبوية روحانية تسعى للتقرب من الله وقطع العلائق مع الناس هيمنت على مراحل نشأته المبكرة في القرن الثاني الهجري، ثم تحول إلى ظاهرة اجتماعية منذ القرن الخامس الهجري، ثم دخل في الفترة بين القرنين السادس إلى الحادي عشر الهجريين مرحلة النفوذ والانتشار، وتحول مع دخول القرن الحادي عشر الهجري تصوفا طرقيا وأصبح ظاهرة شعبية.

وبحسب ماري شميل: «إن الطريق لدى الصوفية في مجمل الأديان هي صورة لتلك المراحل والخطوات نحو التوجه إلى الله، فالتقسيم المسيحي لمراحل التصوف إلى مرحلة التجرد والمشاهدة والكشف يتطابق نوعا ما مع التقسيم الإسلامي للطريق الصوفي إلى «شريعة» و«طريقة» و«حقيقة»، و«الطريقة» أي الدرب الذي يسلكه الصوفي، تعرف بأنها الطريق الذي يتفرع من «الشريعة» لأن الشارع الواسع يسمى «شرعا» والفرع منه يسمى «طريقا»، وهذا الاشتقاق يبين أن الصوفية يعتبرون أن طريق التربية الصوفية هي درب من طريق الشريعة الذي يجب على كل مسلم أن يسلكه[١٢٦].

لقد عُرّفت الطريقة الصوفية بتعريفات عديدة تبعًا لمكوناتها المختلفة كالعناصر المكونة لها، وتبعًا لوسائلها التربوية والروحية وللأهداف التي تبتغي الوصول إليها وتحقيقها، وتبعًا لما تملكه من سلطات ونفوذ بين الناس، ومن هذه التعريفات:

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١٢٦– آنا ماري شيمل، الأبعاد الصوفية في الإسلام، وتاريخ التصوف، ص١١٣.

مسالك الطريق والطريقة

الفاصلة بين عالم الحقائق الإلهية الكلية وبين عالم التغير والحس، فهذه النظرية الفلسفية الميتافيزيقية أدخلت العقل النظري ليعمم المعطيات الشعورية للتجربة الصوفية، وهو ما أنتج مذهبا ميتافيزقيا في الانطولوجيا وليس تجربة روحية وجدانية فردية، فالقول الصوفي يؤكد على أن «كل جمع بلا تفرقة زندقة»[١٢٤].

إن الدخول في التجربة الصوفية وصولا إلى مقام الفناء وحالة الذوبان حمل بعض المتصوفة من شدة الوجد للتلفظ بعبارات لا تتوافق مع التصور السني ولا التصور الصوفي المعتدل عرفت إصطلاحا بـ «الشطحات»، كقول الحلاج: «أنا الحق»، وقول أبو يزيد البسطامي: «سبحاني»، وهي أقوال نابعة من تجربة روحية عميقة تستعصي على الشرح والتفسير، وتسامح معها كثير من الفقهاء، فالفقيه الحنبلي الكبير ابن تيمية وهو من أكبرنقاد الصوفية يقول: وقد يقع بعض من غلب عليه الحال فى نوع من الحلول أو الاتحاد فان الاتحاد: فيه حق وباطل لكن لما ورد عليه ما غيب عقله أو أفناه عما سوى محبوبه ولم يكن ذلك بذنب منه كان معذورا غير معاقب عليه ما دام غير عاقل، فإن القلم رفع عن المجنون حتى يفيق، وإن كان مخطئا فى ذلك كان داخلا فى قوله تعالى (ربنا لا تؤاخذنا ان نسينا أو أخطأنا) فهذه الحال تعترى كثيرا من أهل المحبة والإرادة في جانب الحق وفي غير جانبه وإن كان فيها نقص وخطأ فإنه يغيب بمحبوبه عن حبه وعن نفسه، وبمذكوره عن ذكره، وبمعروفه عن عرفانه، وبمشهوده عن شهوده، وبموجوده عن وجوده، فلا يشعر حينئذ بالتمييز ولا بوجوده، فقد يقول فى هذه الحال: «أنا الحق» أو «سبحانى» أو «ما فى الجبة الا الله». ونحو ذلك وهو سكران بوجد المحبة الذى هو لذة وسرور بلا تمييز[١٢٥].

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١٢٤- السهروردي، عوارف المعارف، ص٥٢٤. وانظر: ناجي حسين جودة، المعرفة الصوفية، ص١٧٧-١٧٨.

١٢٥- ابن تيمية، مجموع الفتاوى، ٢ / ٣٩٦.

إن هذا الاجتياز أو العبور يتم على مستوى الإرادة والشعور والوجدان، وهو ما يصطلح عليه بـ «الفناء الإرادي» و«الفناء الشهودي»، وهو لا يقوم على أساس عدم وجود الفرق والتمييز بين العالمين، وإنما يقوم على تجاوز الصوفي للإحساس بالفرق وبالكثرة وبالذات[١٢٠]، فالتصور الصوفي يقوم على الاعتقاد بأن البعد اللانهائي بين الإنسان والله لا يمحوه لتحقيق الاتصال سوى النور الإلهي، بحيث تصبح الفعالية المطلقة للألوهية غير مقيدة بتصورات العقل للمطلق والتي تفضي إلى التعطيل كما صرح المتصوفة فـ «كل تفرقة بلا جمع تعطيل»[١٢١].

وهكذا يعتبر المتصوفة القول بالفاصل الذي لا يقطع تجريد للألوهية من قدرتها على التجلي والاتصال وتدبير الانسان والعالم، كما أن الكثرة ومظاهر التعدد في العالم المحسوس ليست سوى تجليات أو نسب وإضافات تؤكد القدرة الإلهية المطلقة وتظهر صفاتها، فالصوفية لا يتصورون العالم إلا من حيث أن العدم مصدره ومآله، لأن «العالم وجود من بين طرفي عدم... كان عدما معدوما، ويصير عدما معدوما، ولا يشهده العارف ألا بعدم معدوم»[١٢٢]، وهو ما يطلق عليه السراج «تلاشي المحدث إذا قورن بالقديم»[١٢٣].

والاتصال الصوفي ليس بين الله تعالى وبين الذوات والجواهر، وإنما هو اتصال شهودي عبر الأنوار والإشراقات والفيوضات التي هي تجليات للصفات الإلهية، فالصوفي لا يألو جهدا من خلال الالتزام بشروط ووسائل السلوك في سبيل فناء وعيه وشعوره بالأشياء وبالذات، إذ غاية الذكر المركز والخلوة والصمت والجوع والسهر وسائر أسباب التطهر الروحي إنما هي اضمحلال وتضاؤل الاحساس بالذات والعالم لتهيئة الطريق نحو الإشراق والكشف وسطوع الأنوار الإلهية، فالتجربة والممارسة الصوفية تكمن في فصل الاحساسات الطبيعية للإدراك، وإيصاد الباب أمام الانطباعات الحسية التي تأتي من الخارج لدفع حالة التأمل الصوفي للإستنارة الداخلية، وهذه التجربة والممارسة الصوفية تختلف عن المنظور الفلسفي لأصحاب وحدة الوجود كابن عربي وابن سبعين التي تعمل على الإلغاء الوجودي للمسافة

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١٢٠- ناجي حسين جودة، المعرفة الصوفية، دراسة فلسفيى في مشكلات المعرفة، دار عمار، عمان، الطبعة الأولى، ١٩٩٢، ص١٧٥.

١٢١- السهروردي، عوارف المعارف، ص٥٢٤.

١٢٢- السراج، اللمع، ص٤١٦.

١٢٣- المرجع السابق، ص٣٢.

ويعود الفضل للحلاج (٣٠٩هـ/ ٩٢٢م) في تطوير نظرية الحب الإلهي، وعليه بنى من جاء بعده، كأصحاب وحدة الوجود، فبحسب الحلاج فإن جوهر الذات الإلهية هو الحب، فالحق أحب ذاته في وحدته المطلقة قبل أن يخلق الخلق، وبالحب تجلى لنفسه بنفسه، فلما أحب أن يرى ذلك الحب بعيدا عن الغيرية والثنوية في صورة ظاهرة أخرج من العدم صورة من ذاته لها جميع صفاته وأسمائه، فكانت هذه الصورة الإلهية آدم الذي تجلى الحق فيه وبه[١١٦].

أما الفناء فهو الغاية النهائية لكمال المعرفة وهي: «أن يدرك الصوفي وحدة العارف والمعروف»[١١٧]، وقد عبر عنها باصطلاحات أخرى كالوجد، والجذب، والذوق، والشرب، والغيبة، والسكر، والاصطلام، ويطلق المتصوفة على هذه الحالة المحو والاستهلاك، وهي تتجلى كمعرفة تتجاوز قيود المنطق وأغلاله[١١٨]، ولعل أفضل تعريف للفناء يعود للعالم الياباني توشيهيكو إزسوتسو الذي أوضح معناه بأنه: «التلاشي التام للإدراك بالأنا عندما لايبقى إلا الحقيقة الخالصة المطلقة بكونها إدراكا مطاقا قبل انقسامها إلى خالق ومخلوق»[١١٩].

وإذا كان الفلاسفة المتألهين والمتكلمين يرون ثمة هوة ميتافيزيقية بين الوجود الإلهي المتعالي المطلق وبين عالم التغير والزوال، وأن هذه الهوة لا يمكن للإنسان طيها ولا عبورها نظرا للفصل الشاسع والواضح بين عالم الإنسان الأرضي وبين عالم الوجود الإلهي المنزه، فإن المتصوفة قالوا بإمكانية طي أو عبور هذه المسافة الميتافيزيقية بين العالمين، وقالوا بإمكانية إلغاء القسمة الفاصلة بين الذات المدركة وموضوع الإدراك وهو شرط جوهري لحصول المعرفة الذوقية المباشرة للحقيقة الكونية المطلقة التي لا تعرف بوسائل الحس والعقل.

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١١٦- أنظر: الحسين بن منصور الحلاج، كتاب الطواسين، نشره ماسينيون، باريس، ١٩١٣، ص١٢٩، نقلا عن محمد بن الطيب، إسلام المتصوفة، ص٦٢.

١١٧- أبو العلا عفيفي، التصوف، ص٦٣.

١١٨- أنظر: جولدتسيهر، العقيدة والشريعة في الإسلام، تحقيق محمد يوسف موسى وآخرين، دار الكتب الحديثة، مصر، ومكتبة المثنى، بغداد، الطبعة الثانية، ص١٦٢.

١١٩- أنظر: آنا ماري شيمل، الأبعاد الصوفية في الإسلام، وتاريخ التصوف، ترجمة محمد إسماعيل السيد ورضا حامد قطب، منشورات الجمل، الطبعة الأولى، كولونيا، بغداد، ٢٠٠٦، ص١٦٤.

له أجل مضروب لا يقع قبله، فقال تعالى: (من كان يرجو لقاء الله فإن أجل الله لآت)[١١٠]. قال أبو عثمان الحيري: هذا تعزية للمشتاقين[١١١].

ولذلك فالشوق لازمة من لوازم المحبة وثمرة من ثمرتها، ويطعن في مدى صدق العبد في محبته لخالقه بدونها، وكانت قمة الشعور بالشوق تتجلى في لحظات الخلوة والأنس بالله، فبحسب الهجويري: «أما محبة الله فهي صفة تظهر في قلب المؤمن المطيع، بمعنى التعظيم والإكبار، ليطلب رضاء المحبوب ويصير بلا صبر في طلب رؤيته، وقلقاً في الرغبة في قربه، ولا يسكن إلى أحد دونه، ويعتاد ذكره»[١١٢]، وما ذلك إلا لقوة هذا الشوق الذي ينحرف بهم عن الصبر ويلذذ الموت؛ «لأن صاحبه يرجو فيه لقاء محبوبه. فإذا ذكر الموت التذ به كما يلتذ المسافر بتذكر قدومه على أهله وأحبابه»[١١٣].

لقد أصبحت المحبة بعد رابعة العدوية المحور الذي تدور عليه الحياة الصوفية، والهدف الذي تنشده، فالمحبة سمة الطائفة الصوفية وعنوان الطريقة ومعقد النسبة[١١٤]، وقد ظهر في القرن الثالث الهجري عدد من الكتاب المتصوفة تناولوا المحبة في مؤلفاتهم أمثال: الحارث بن أسد المحاسبي، والجنيد البغدادي، وسري السقطي، وذو النون المصري، وسهل التستري، وأبو بكر الشبلي، وغيرهم، ثم بلغت فكرة الحب الإلهي ذروتها عند أصحاب وحدة الوجود ولا سيما عند ابن الفارض (ت٦٣٢ه / ١٢٣٥م) وابن عربي (ت٦٣٨ه / ١٢٤٠م).

وشاع التغني بالمحبة عند شعراء الصوفية في فارس من أمثال: جلال الدين الرومي (ت٦٧٢ه / ١٢٧٣م)، وفخر الدين العراقي (ت٦٨٨ه / ١٢٨٩م)، وأوحد الدين الكرماني (ت٦٢٤ه / ١٢٢٧م)، ومحمود شبستري (ت٧٢٠ه / ١٣٢٠م)، وشيرين مغربي (ت٨٠٩ه / ١٤٠٦م)، ونور علي شاه (ت١١٦٠ه / ١٧٤٨م) وغيرهم[١١٥].

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١١٠- سورة العنكبوت، آية ٥.

١١١- ابن القيم، طريق الهجرتين، ص٣٤٧-٣٤٨.

١١٢- الهجويري، كشف المحجوب، ص٥٥١.

١١٣- ابن القيم، مدارج السالكين، ٣ / ٣٨.

١١٤- المرجع السابق، ٣ / ٣٥.

١١٥- محمد بن الطيب، إسلام المتصوفة، ص٦٠ -٦١.

الإلهي وناجين الله سبحانه وتعالى في جوف الليل بصيغة الحب صريحة واضحة منهن: حيونه التي لجأت إليها رابعة في أول الطريق لتعينها على أمر العبادة، وكان لها تأثير شديد عليها وقد استمعت إليها رابعة وهى تقول:

يا ذا الذي وعد الرضا لحبيبه أنت الذي ما إن سواك أريد[١٠٦]

كما أنشدت شعوانة الحب قبل رابعة وعاصرتها، وبردة الصريمية، وقد أطلقت قبل رابعة نفس العبارات التي أطلقتها رابعة في الحب الإلهي[١٠٧]. وسبق رابعة العدوية من المتصوفة عدد من الرجال منهم: عامر بن عبد الله بن عبد قيس وقد توفى في بيت المقدس قبل سنة ٦٠ هـ، وخليد بن عبد الله، وكهمس بن الحسن القيس المتوفى سنة١٤٩ه، وغيرهم. ويبدو أن روح البصرة، التي شهدت نشأة رابعة،كانت مفعمة بالحب الإلهي، فجميع المتصوفة الذين سبقوها بالقول بهذا المقام نشأوا فيها، وكانت رابعة على صلة بمجموعة من العباد المعروفين بالزهد والمحبة، وقد حملت لهم رابعة أعظم تقدير منهم عبد العزيز بن سلمان الراسبي، وكانت تسميه سيد العابدين[١٠٨].

ومن الأحوال الوثيقة الصلة بالمحبة حال الشوق وهو في حقيقتة: «سفر القلب في طلب محبوبه، بحيث لا يقر قراره حتي يظفر به ويحصل له»[١٠٩]، وقد اختلف في جواز إطلاقه على الله، إذ يقول صاحب منازل السائرين: وسبب ذلك أن الشوق إنما يكون لغائب، ومذهب هذه الطائفة إنما قام على المشاهدة، ولهذا السبب لم يجئ في حق الله ولا في حق العبد، خاصة أنه لم يرد به القرآن ولا السنة بصريح لفظه.

وهناك طائفة أجازت إطلاقه عليه سبحانه ورووا في الأثر أنه يقول سبحانه:«طال شوق الأبرار إلى لقائي وأنا إلى لقائهم أشوق» ويردون على القول: «بأن الله لا يغيب عن العبد» بأن هذا حضور العلم وأما اللقاء والقرب من الحبيب فأمر آخر، فالشوق يقع بالاعتبار الثاني، وهذا

١٠٦- الزبيدي، إتحاف السادة المتقين في شرح إحياء علوم الدين، ٥ / ٥٧٦.

١٠٧- ابن الجوزي، صفة الصفوة، ٤ / ١٦-٣٩.

١٠٨- المرجع السابق، ٣ / ٢٨٨.

١٠٩- ابن القيم، طريق الهجرتين، ص٣٤٧.

محب» وكان يرددها ويبكي حتى يطلع الفجر، وكان يصلي بالليل الطويل، فإذا فرغ رفع رأسه قائلا: «سيدي إن تعذبني فإني أحبك، وإن تعف عني فإني أحبك»[١٠٠]، ولم يكن الحب الألهي في هذه المرحلة المبكرة قد دخلت عليها فكرة الفناء، وإنما كانت ضربا من التأمل العميق في الروح الإلهية الخالدة[١٠١].

وعلى الرغم من المكانة الرفيعة لمقام المحبة عند المتصوفة، فإنهم يقرون بالعجز عن وصفها وإدراك كينونتها، يقول القشيري: «لا نستطيع لها شرحاً ولا تفسيراً، ولكنها تحمل العبد على التعظيم لله وإيثار رضاه وقلة الصبر عنه وعدم القرار من دونه ووجود الاستئناس بدوام ذكره»[١٠٢]، وهذه إبانة عن ثمرات المحبة من الإقبال على الله بالطاعة والاستشعار بلذة الأنس والخلوة مع مناجاته والاشتياق الدائم لرؤيته، أما المحبة في كينونتها وماهيتها فقد عجزت العبارة عن وصفها، فعندما سئلت رابعة العدوية كيف رأيت المحبة؟، قالت: ليس للمحب وحبيبه بين وإنما هو نطق عن شوق، ووصف عن ذوق، فمن ذاق عرف ومن وصف فما اتصف، وكيف تصف شيئاً أنت في حضرته غائب وبوجوده دائب وبشهوده ذاهب، وبصحوك منه سكران... وبسرورك له ولهان، فالهيبة تخرس اللسان عن الإخبار... فما ثم إلا دهشة دائمة، وحيرة لازمة، وقلوب هائمة وأسرار كاتمة وأجساد من السقم غير سالمة[١٠٣].

إن المنزلة الرفيعة التي تحتلها رابعة العدوية في مقام المحبة لا يعني تفردها وريادتها للحب الإلهي، كما ذهب كثير من الباحثين العرب والمستشرقين كالدكتور مصطفى عبد الرازق الذي يقرر بأن رابعة العدوية هي السباقة إلى وضع قواعد الحب والحزن في هيكل التصوف الإسلامي[١٠٤]، كما بين ذلك الدكتور علي سامي النشار[١٠٥]، الذي يقول: إن هذا الرأى لا نستطيع أن نجزم بصحته مطلقاً خاصة إذا علمنا أن هناك من العابدات قبل رابعة من تكلمن في الحب

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١٠٠– أبو نعيم الأصبهاني، حلية الأولياء، ٦ / ٢٥٣.

١٠١– أنظر: علي سامي النشار، نشأة الفكر الفلسفي في الإسلام، ٣ / ١٧٦.

١٠٢– المرجع السابق، ص١٢٧.

١٠٣– العز الدين بن عبد السلام، شرح حال الأولياء، مخطوط رقم ١٦٤١ عربى، ص٢٥٣، المكتبة الأهلية بباريس.

١٠٤– دائرة المعارف الإسلامية، دار المعرفة، بيروت، ٥ / ٢٩٧،٢٩٨.

١٠٥– النشار، نشأة الفكر الفلسفي، ٣ / ٢٠٣.

عليه، ولا يزال عبدي يتقرب إلي بالنوافل حتى أحبه، فإذا أحببته كنت سمعه الذي يسمع به، وبصره الذي يبصر به، ورجله التي يمشي بها، ويده التي يبطش بها، وإن سألني لأعطينه، وإن استعاذني لأعيذنه»[٩٤].

ظهرت فكرة الحب الإلهي لدى المتصوفة في مراحل مبكرة، ألا أن المحبة التي كانت وسيلة للطاعة والاستسلام لله للنجاة من النار والفوز بالجنة رغبة ورهبة تحولت إلى عاطفة جياشة استولت على قلوبهم ووجدانهم، وبات الحديث يدور على الله باعتباره محبوبا، فالنزعة الزهدية ومجاهدة النفس بالعبودية والتعلق بالله والآخرة وذم الدنيا واليأس من الناس وقطع العلائق بالأشياء أورث المتصوفة إحساسا مرهفا حملهم على الاجتهاد بالتقرب بالطاعة لتحصيل القرب من الله، وتعتبر رابعة العدوية (١٨٥ه / ٨٠١م) أول من صدع بنظرية الحب الإلهي بصورة متكاملة، وكانت طبقة من الصوفية الزهاد من قبلها ومن معاصريها قد تناولت المحبة في أقوالها ومواجيدها، فإبراهيم بن أدهم (ت١٦١ه) يقول: «اللهم إنك تعلم بإن الجنة لا تزن عندي جناح بعوضة، إذا أنت آنستني بذكرك، ورزقتني حبك، وسهلت علي طاعتك»[٩٥]، وكذلك كهمس بن الحسن القيسي التميمي (ت١٤٩ه) الذي كان يقول في جوف الليل مخاطبا ربه: «أراك معذبي وأنت قرة عيني يا حبيب قلباه»[٩٦]، وعبد الواحد بن زيد (ت١٧٧ه) الذي كان يقول: «وعزتك وجلالك لا أعلم لمحبتك فرحا دون لقائك والاشتفاء من النظر إلى جلال وجهك في دار كرامتك»[٩٧]، وقد عرف عن عبد الوحد بن زيد إفراطه بالبكاء، وفي إثارة الوجد عند الآخرين، حتى قال حصين بن القاسم الوزان: «لو قسم بث عبد الواحد بن زيد على أهل البصرة لوسعهم»[٩٨]، وهذا ما دفع ابن تيمية إلى عده أول صوفي على وجه الحقيقة، وقال: «أول ما ظهرت الصوفية من البصرة، وأول من بنى دويرة الصوفية بعض أصحاب عبد الواحد بن زيد»[٩٩]، ومن رواد الحب الإلهي عتبة الغلام (ت١٧٧ه) وكان يناجي ربه قائلا: «إن تعذبني فأني لك محب، وإن ترحمني فإني لك

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٩٤- رواه البخاري، في كتاب الرقائق باب التواضع، ١١ / ٣٤٨، رقم: ٦٥٠٢.

٩٥- أبونعيم الأصبهاني، حلية الأولياء وطبقات الأصفياء، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت، الطبعة الأولى، ١٤١٨هـ، ٨ / ٣٦.

٩٦- المرجع السابق، ٦ / ٢١٣.

٩٧- نفس المرجع، ٦ / ١٥٦.

٩٨- نفس المرجع، ٦ / ١٧٣.

٩٩- ابن تيمية، الصوفية والفقراء، ص١٢.

تتمتع المحبة بحضور مركزي في الفلسفة الصوفية، وترتبط بشكل وثيق بمقام المعرفة فهما مكملان لبعضهما ومنتهى الطريق لدى المتصوفة، وبعضهم يقدم مقام المحبة على مقام المعرفة، بل ان الغزالي يقول: «الحب بدون المعرفة مستحيل، فالمرء لا يحب إلا من يعرف»[٨٨]، وقد اختلف المتصوفة في المحبة هل هي حال أم مقام، واعتبرها ابن عربي مقاما وحالا في نفس الوقت متأثرا بالسهروردي الذي جوّز ذلك[٨٩]، ومستند الصوفية في تقرير مقام المحبة القران الكريم والسنة النبوية، فقد ورد ذكر الحب فى القرآن الكريم ثلاثا وثمانين مرة[٩٠]، وقد أولى الصوفية اهتمامًا كبيرًا بالآية الكريمة: (قُلْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُحِبُّونَ اللَّهَ فَاتَّبِعُونِي يُحْبِبْكُمُ اللَّهُ)[٩١]، والآيةالكريمة: (فَسَوْفَ يَأْتِي اللَّهُ بِقَوْمٍ يُحِبُّهُمْ وَيُحِبُّونَهُ)[٩٢]، وسبب اهتمام الصوفية بهاتين الآيتين على وجه الخصوص هو إثبات الحب المتبادل بين الله والعبد[٩٣]، كما ترد المحبة في السنة النبوية بكثرة، ومن أكثرها تداولا في المجال الصوفي الحديث القدسي: «وما تقرب إلي عبدي بشيء أحب إلي مما افترضته

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٨٨- أبو حامد الغزالي، إحياء علوم الدين، ٤ / ٢٤٥.

٨٩- السهروردي، عوارف المعارف، ص٥٠٤.

٩٠- أنظر: محمد فؤاد عبد الباقي، المعجم المفهرس لألفاظ القرآن الكريم، دار الحديث، القاهرة، ١٩٩٦م، ص٢٣٤-٢٣٦.

٩١- سورة آل عمران، الآية: ٣١.

٩٢- سورة المائدة، الآية: ٥٤.

٩٣- لمزيد من التفاصيل أنظر: الحب الإلهي فى التصوف الإسلامي «دراسة فى التطور الدلالي»: Giuseppe Scattolin, Love (HUBB) of God In Islamic Mysticism A Study of Semantic Development, Institut Dominicain, Mideo 23, Paris,1997, P239-258.

المحبة والفناء

تمحيص النصوص الصوفية يكشف بأن هذه المفاهيم تعبر عن درجات لتجربة روحية واحدة، وأن وحدة الوجود حالة شعورية في الأصل، لكن العارف لايتحقق بها دفعة واحدة، وإنما تأتي بالتدريج ثمرة للمعراج الصوفي حينما يفنى العارف عن شهود أفعاله ليشهد الفعل من الله محبوبه الأسمى، ثم يفنى عن كل ما سواه حتى يبلغ أعلى درجات الفناء من خلال اتحاده بالمحبوب، وليس هو اتحاد على الحقيقة وإنما هو إدراك العارف ذوقا وشعورا أنه عين محبوبه وأنه ما ثم إلا الله وحده وأن الأشياء موجودة به معدومة في نفسها. ومن ثم تكون وحدة الشهود مرحلة تسبق وحدة الوجود، أو هي الوصول الأول، وصول البداية، بينما وحدة الوجود هي الوصول الأخير أو وصول النهاية[٨٥].

إلا أن مفهوم وحدة الوجود الذي عمل على بلورته واستدخاله في المجال الصوفي ابن عربي يغاير المفهوم المادي الإلحادي لوحدة الوجود الذي يرجع كل شيء إلى المادة، فهو ذو طبيعة روحية في إطار تجربة الفناء، فوحدة الوجود عند ابن عربي وأتباعه ليست وحدة مادية اندماجية، أي أن الحقيقة الوجودية هي هذا العالم المادي الماثل أمام حواسنا، وإنما هي وحدة وجود مثالية أو روحية تقرر وجود حقيقة عليا هي الحق الظاهر من صور الموجودات، وأن هذه الوجودات في حكم العدم، لأن وجودها ليس بذاتها وإنما وجودها بالله. فبحسب ابن عربي: «الوجود الذي هو أصل الأصول هو الله تعالى»[٨٦].

يقوم منهج الوصول المعرفي الصوفي على الوصال، فالمعرفة لا تحصل بالذكر والخلوة وغيرها من التقنيات العملية، فهي لا تتعدى كونها وسائل يستعتن بها لتجلية القلب لتلقي المكاشفات والفيوضات، ولذلك لا بد للسالك من التدرج والترقي في المقامات والانتظار، فالمعرفة الصوفية تتميز بكونها معرفة مطلقة مباشرة ولحظية وتستعصي على التعبير، وتتميز بالصدق والثبات، وشروط حصولها نوع توحد بين الذات والموضوع[٨٧]، فمعرفة الله بحسب الصوفية لا تحصل بالنظر والاستدلال العقلي، والتوحيد أمر جليل لا يقوى العقل على إدراكه، فهو من الأسرار التي يكشف الله معانيها لمن يشاء من عباده.

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٨٥- محمد بن الطيب، إسلام المتصوفة، ص٧١-٧٢.

٨٦- ابن عربي، الفتوحات المكية، ٣ / ٥٦٥.

٨٧- عرفان عبد الحميد فتاح، نشأة الفلسفة الصوفية وتطورها، ص١٦٧.

والصمت، والجوع، والسهر»[٧٦]، ويتمتع الذكر بمكانة عالية ومنزلة رفيعة، فعلى السالك الاستغراق في ذكر الله إلى حد الغيبة عن الإحساس بالأشياء لاجتناب حجاب العقل، فبحسب الغزالي: «الذكر باب الكشف»[٧٧]، وهو حسب أبوالعلا عفيفي: «وسيلة لاستثارة حالة الوجد وحصول إشراق»[٧٨].

لا يبدو طريق المعرفة الصوفي ممهدا وسهلا فعلى السائر في دروب المعراج الروحي الصبر والانتظار، وقد لا يصل إلى غايته، «لأن الوصول إلى الله أمر لا ينال بالكسب بل هو موهبة يهبها الله – سبحانه – لمن يشاء»[٧٩]، وإذا كان الطريق لا يفضي بالضرورة إلى المعرفة، ألا أن تحصيل المعرفة تستلزم وجوبا سلوك طريق التطهر «فعلى قدر التجرد ومقاومة الحس وشواغله يكون صفاء الإدراك وقوة الإشراق، وهنا أصبح أتباع نظم السالكين وأهل الطريق والمجاهدة الصوفية ضرورة لازمة لقنص لوائح المعرفة وبارقات الفيض الإلهي»[٨٠]، فالسالك لايصل «إلى حقيقة المعرفة وصفاء التوحيد حتى يعبر الأحوال والمقامات»[٨١]، وحقيقة المعرفة تظهر من خلال المكاشفات والتجليات والإشراقات، وهي اصطلاحات معرفية ذوقية صوفية خاصة، فالمكاشفة تعني: «بيان ما يستتر على الفهم فيكشف عنه للعبد كأنه رأي العين»[٨٢]، والتجلي يعني: «إشراق أنوار إقبال الحق على قلوب المقبلين عليه»[٨٣]، أما الإشراق فيعني: «لحظة تجلي المعرفة»[٨٤].

لقد أفضت المعرفة الصوفية من خلال معراجها الروحي إلى مسارات وتصورات عديدة للألوهية، من الفناء والاتحاد ووحدة الشهود ووحدة الوجود، وبحسب محمد بن الطيب فإن

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٧٦– الغزالي، إحياء علوم الدين، ٣ / ٧٦.

٧٧– المرجع السابق، ٣ / ١٢.

٧٨– أبو العلا عفيفي، التصوف الثورة الروحية، ص٢٦٣.

٧٩– نيكلسون، في التصوف الإسلامي، ص٧٩.

٨٠– د. محمد علي أبوريان، أصول الفلسفة الإشراقية عند شهاب الدين السهروردي، مكتبة الانجلو مصرية، القاهرة، الطبعة الأولى، ١٩٥٩، ص٢٨٨.

٨١– الطوسي، اللمع، ص٤٣٦.

٨٢– الطوسي، اللمع، ص٤٢٢.

٨٣– المرجع السابق، ص٤٣٩.

٨٤– هناك جدل كبير حول مفهوم الإشراق، أنظر: أبو ريان، أصول الفلسفة الإشراقية.

الخيرات، ومراقبة الله في خواطر القلوب»[٦٨]، وعند السراج سبع مقامات هي: التوبة والورع والزهد والفقر والصبر والتوكل والرضا[٦٩]، وقد تكاثرت المقامات حيث بلغت عند الهروي الأنصاري في كتابه «منازل السائرين» مائة مقام[٧٠]، ولا يعود تعدد المقامات وتكاثرها للتطور التاريخي وحده، وإنما للطابع الفردي للتجربة الصوفية الذي ينتج تصورات متعددة، فبحسب ابن خلدون: «إن الطريق إلى الله تعالى عدد أنفاس الخلائق»[٧١].

تعتبر التوبة بداية الطريق وخطوته الأولى، وهي أول مقام في سلسلة المقامات، فبحسب المتصوفة: «التوبة أصل كل مقام، وقوام كل مقام، ومفتاح كل حال، وهي أول المقامات»[٧٢]، وتعني التوبة مفارقة النفس الحيوانية والعالم الحسي، فلا يقصد بها المتصوفة «الإقلاع عن الذنوب... وإنما يقصدون بها شيئا آخر لأبعد وأعمق من هذا كله... وهو التجرد عن النفس أو التخلص من النفس»[٧٣].

إن طريق المعرفة للوصول إلى الله يقوم على مجاهدة النفس باعتبارها حجابا يحول دون الكشف، فالغزالي يخاطب السالك بقوله: «إذا لم تقتل النفس بصدق المجاهدة، فلن يحيا قلبك بأنوار المعرفة»[٧٤]، فأول ما يجب على السالك معرفة النفس بغية التمييز بين الخواطر التي مصدرها الإلهام وبين الوساوس والهواجس، وبغية التمكن من قهر النفس واجتناب سطوتها زتأثيراتها السلبية على المريد، فبحسب الكلاباذي أول ما يلزم السالك: «علو آفات النفس، ومعرفتها، ورياضتها، وتهذيب أخلاقها»[٧٥]، ويوجز الغزالي طريق السلوك بالذكر و«الخلوة،

٦٨- السراج، اللمع، ص٦٤.

٦٩- المرجع السابق، ص٦٥.

٧٠- أبو إسماعيل الهروي الأنصاري، منازل السائرين إلى الحق المبين، تحقيق عبد الحفيظ منصور، تونس، ١٩٨٩، ١ / ٥٢.

٧١- ابن خلدون، شفاء السائل، ص٨٧.

٧٢- السهروردي، عوارف المعارف، ص٤٧٥.

٧٣- أبو العلا عفيفي، التصوف الثورة الروحية، ص٢٣.

٧٤- ابو حامد الغزالي، أيها الولد، مع ترجمة إلى الفرنسية، توفيق الصباغ، اللجنة الدولية لترجمة الروائع، بيروت، الطبعة الثانية، ١٩٥٩، ص٢٧.

٧٥- الكلاباذي، التعرف لمذهب أهل التصوف، ص١٠٥.

روحية يعيشها السالك عبر مقامات وأحوال تثمر مكاشفات وفيوضات، فبحسب الغزالي: «أخص خواصهم (الصوفية) ما لا يمكن الوصول إليه بالتعلم، بل بالذوق والحال وتبدل الصفات... فعلمت يقينا أنهم أرباب أحوال لا أصحاب أقوال، وأن ما يمكن تحصيله بطريق العلم فقد حصّلت، ولم يبق إلا ما لا سبيل إليه بالسماع والعلم بل بالذوق والسلوك»[٦٢].

يتخذ المتصوفة أسماء عديدة للطريق المعرفي الصوفي، فهو سفر وسير وسلوك، وأشهرها «المعراج الروحي»، تشبها بحادثة المعراج النبوي الحسي، وهي ظاهرة تخترق المتصوفة من كافة الطوائف والأديان تعرف بـ «طريق التطهر»، فبحسب نيكلسون: «وصف متصوفة كل جنس ونحلة تقدم الحياة الروحية بأنه رحلة»[٦٣]، وعماد طريق التطهر الروحي الصوفي المقامات والأحوال، وهما سلسلة من الحالات النفسية الشعورية التي يقطعها السالك، والمقام كالتوبة والصبر والتوكل والإخلاص هو: «مما يتوصل إليه بنوع تصرف، ويتحقق به بضرب تطلب، ومقاساة تكلف»[٦٤]، وهو نتيجة وثمرة المجاهدة الروحية ولا يطلق وصف المقام إلا حين يثبت ويستقر لدى السالك ولا ينتقل من مقام لآخر حتى يستوفي شروطه وأحكامه، وفي طريق المعراج الروحي فإن المريد «يرتقي من مقام إلى مقام، إلى أن ينتهي إلى التوحيد والمعرفة»[٦٥].

أما الأحوال فهي تأخذ شكل أزواج متضادة كالقبض والبسط، والخوف والرجاء، وهي عبارة عن: «معنى يرد على القلب من غير تعمد منهم ولا اجتلاب ولا اكتساب»[٦٦]، وبهذا يتميز المقام عن الحال من حيث المصدر «فالأحوال مواهب، والمقامات مكاسب»[٦٧]، وتختلف المقامات وأوصافها لدى الصوفية، فقد كانت عند نشأة التصوف بسيطة وتتألف من عناصر محدودة، فهي عند الجنيد أربعة وهي: «توبة تحل الإصرار، وخوف يزيل الغرة، ورجاء مزعج إلى طريق

حسان، القاهرة، ١٩٧٤، ٢ / ٧٣١.

٦٢- الغزالي، المنقذ من الضلال، تحقيق سميح دغيم، بيروت ١٩٩٣، ص٢٦.

٦٣- نيكلسون، الصوفية، ص٣٣.

٦٤- القشيري، الرسالة القشيرية، ١ / ٢٣٤.

٦٥- ابن خلدون، المقدمة، الدار التونسية للنشر، تونس، الطبعة الأولى، ١٩٨٤، ٢ / ٥٨٥.

٦٦- القشيري، الرسالة القشيرية، ١ / ٢٣٦.

٦٧- السهروردي، عوارف المعارف، ص ٤٧٠.

يتفرد المنهاج الصوفي في المعرفة عن سائر المناهج الفلسفية واللاهوتية، فبحسب نيكلسون: «التصوف ليس فلسفة ولا لاهوت»[٥٧]، فهو يقوم على الجمع بين مناهج متعددة تستند إلى التجربة والذوق، والكشف والمشاهدة، ولذلك يتوصل ابن خلدون إلى القول: «التصوف كله راجع إلى مجاهدة وسلوك يفضيان ببلوغ الغاية فيها إلى كشف ومشاهدة»[٥٨]، فالمعرفة تنقسم عند المتصوفة إلى ثلاث درجات مستمدة من القرآن الكريم وهي: علم اليقين، وعين اليقين وحق اليقين، ويعد علم اليقين أدناها مرتبة وهي المعرفة المكتسبة عن طريق النظر والاستدلال، وأرقاها حق اليقين، ويشرحها الجنيد بقوله: «وهو أن يشاهد الغيوب كما يشاهد المرئيات مشاهدة عيان»[٥٩]، أما عين القين فهي درجة دنيا في المعرفة الصوفية، فـ «علم اليقين حال التفرقة، وعين اليقين حال الجمع، وحق اليقين جمع الجمع بلسان التوحيد»[٦٠].

تعمل المعرفة الصوفية على قلب مبدأ الاستدلال العقلي الذي يقوم على الاستدلال بالكون على المكون عن طريق الاتصال الروحي المباشر بالحقيقةالوجودية المطلقة، فبحسب الصوفية تتجاوز المعرفة العقل والنقل معا فالناس: «إما أصحاب النقل والأثر، وإما أصحاب العقل والفكر... و(المتصوفة) ارتقوا عن هذه الجملة، فالذي للناس غيب فهو لهم ظهور... فهم أهل الوصال، والناس أهل الاستدلال»[٦١]، وهذا الوصال يعتمد على الذوق، فمنهاج الوصول تجربة

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٥٧- نيكلسون، في التصوف الإسلامي وتاريخه، ص١٠٤.

٥٨- ابن خلدون، شفاء السائل لتهذيب المسائل، تحقيق محمد تاويت الطنجي، ١٩٥٧، ص٧٠.

٥٩- السهروردي، عوارف المعارفن دار الكتاب العربي، بيروت، الطبعة الأولى، ١٩٦٦، ص٥٢٨.

٦٠- المصدر السابق، ص٥٢٨.

٦١- القشيري، الرسالة القشيرية، تحقيق د. عبد الحليم محمود، ومحمود الشريف، مطبعة

منهاج الوصال والوصول

الأول؛ ينزع إلى مزيد من الإحكام المنهجي والوضوح النظري، ولا يأتي بالنقض على أسسه وأركانه، ويمثله: القونوي (ت٦٧٣ه / ١٢٧٥م)، والجيلي (ت٨٢٣ه / ١٤٢٨م)، صاحب كتاب «الإنسان الكامل»، والثاني؛ ذو منزع تفسيري دفاعي يجمع بين شرح مقاصد ابن عربي وتوضح مراميه، والدفاع عنه ضد خصومه، ويمثله: الجامي (ت٨٩٨ه / ١٤٩٢م)، والقاشاني (ت٧٣٠ه / ١٣٢٩م)، والعاملي (ت١٠٣١ه / ١٦٢١م)، والنابلسي (ت١١٣٤ه / ١٧٣١م)، وابن عجيبة (ت١٢٢٤ه / ١٨٠٩م)، والثالث؛ ذو منزع فني يجنح إلى التعبير الشعري، وأسلوب التخييل والتصوير، ومن أبرز ممثليه: جلال الدين الرومي (ت٦٧٣ه / ١٢٧٣م)، صاحب كتاب «المثنوي»[٥٦].

إن تتبع مسار تطور التصوف الإسلامي يكشف عن تحولا عميقة طالت أسسه وأركانه، فقد ظهر في بداياته في القرن السابع الميلادي كظاهرة فردية شخصية ذات طبيعة نخبوية؛ ثم تبلور تاريخيا كظاهرة اجتماعية منذ القرن الحادي عشر، واستقر تصوفا طرقيا شعبيا خلال القرن السابع عشر، إبان الدولة العثمانية التي استدخلتة أيديولوجيا، وهو التطور الذي سنتناوله لاحقا عند الحديث عن الطرق الصوفية.

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٥٦- محمد بن الطيب، إسلام المتصوفة، ص٥٠-٥١.

تميز القرن الخامس الهجري بظهور كتابات صوفية باللغة الفارسية، ويعتبر كتاب «كشف المحجوب» لعلي عثمان الجلابي الهجويري (ت٤٦٥ه / ١٠٨٠م) أول مؤلف في التصوف باللغة الفارسية، وممن كتب بالفارسية الهروي الأتصاري (ت٤٨١ه / ١٠٨٩م)، ثم توالت الكتابة بالفارسية وتبوأ التصوف مكانة رفيعة في الشعر الفارسي عند العطار (ت٦٥١ه / ١٢٧٣م)، وجلال الدين الرومي (ت٦٧٢ه / ١٢٧٣م)، وعبد الرحمن جامي (ت٨٩٨ه / ١٤٩٢م)، ثم توالت الكتابات الصوفية في لغات إسلامية أخرى كالتركية والأوردية[٥٣].

مع إطلالة القرن السادس الهجري دخل التصوف في طور فلسفي، يتسم بالغموض والإغراق في استخدام الإشارة والرمز ينبني على الذوق، بلغ الغاية مع تصوف أصحاب وحدة الوجود، الذين عملوا على تطوير مذهب الوحدة من الشهود الذوقي التي راجت لدى قدماء المتصوفة، إلى نظرية متكاملة في الوجود، ومن أبرز أعلامها: يحيى بن حبش السهروردي المقتول (ت٥٨٧ه / ١١٩١م)، من إيران، الذي طور آراء الحلاج، ومحيي الدين بن عربي (ت٦٣٨ه / ١٢٤٠م) من الأندلس، وهو من أصل مذهب وحدة الوجود، وقوامها الاعتقاد بأن الوجود هو الله، وأن مظاهر التعدد والكثرة في الموجودات لا تعني تعددا في الوجود، بل هي مظاهر تجلى فيها الوجود الواحد، وقد انتشر هذا المذهب بشكل واسع في العالم الإسلامي بدءا بالمغرب العربي ثم امتداده إلى المشرق الفارسي وصولا إلى شبه القارة الهندية، ولا يزال أثره حتى اليوم[٥٤]، وقد دفع عبد الحق ابن سبعين (ت٦٦٧ه / ١٢٦٨م)، وهو معاصر لابن عربي بمذهب وحدة الوجود إلى مداها الأقصى وتبنى القول بالوحدة المطلقة[٥٥]، واتخذ مذهب وحدة الوجود بعد ابن عربي ثلاث توجهات:

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٥٣– أنظر: محمد بن الطيب، إسلام المتصوفة، ص٤٦–٤٧.

٥٤– لمزيد من التفصيل حول ابن عربي وأثره في التصوف ومذهبه، أنظر: أسين بلاثيوس، ابن عربي حياته ومذهبه، ترجمة عبد الرحمن بدوي، وكالة المطبوعات، الكويت، ودار القلم، بيروت، ١٩٧٩. ومحمد العدلوني الإدريسي، مدرسة ابن عربي ومذهبه في الوحدة، دار الثقافة، الدار البيضاء، ١٩٩٨.

٥٥– لمزيد من التفصيل حول ابن سبعين ومذهبه، أنظر: محمد العدلوني الإدريسي، فلسفة الوحدة في تصوف ابن سبعين، دار الثقافة، الدار البيضاء، ١٩٩٨. وأبو الوفا الغنيمي التفتازاني، ابن سبعين وفلسفته الصوفية، دار الكتاب اللبناني بيروت، ١٩٧٣.

الحافي (ت٢٢٧ه / ٨٤٢م)، وحاتم الأصم (ت٢٣٧ه / ٨٥١م)، وابن كرام (ت٢٥٥ه / ٨٦٩م)، ويحيى بن معاذ الرازي (ت٢٥٨ه / ٨٧٢م)، والحكيم الترمذي (ت٢٨٥ه / ٨٩٨م)، وأبو حمدون القصار (ت٢٧١ه / ٨٨٤م)، والمدرسة المصرية الشامية ومن أعلامها ذي النون المصري (ت٢٤٥ه / ٨٥٩م)، والداراني (ت٢١٥ه / ٨٣٠م)، وأبو الحسن أحمد بن أبي الحواري (ت٢٣٠ه / ٨٤٥م).

وظهرت في القرن الثالث الهجري التاسع الميلادي في نيسابور فرقة صوفية عرفت باسم «الملامتية»، تستند إلى مفهومي: الفتوة والملامة، وتعني الملامة في اصطلاحهم كبح النفس واتهامها وتأنيبها، واتهامها بالتقصير بالطاعة، أما الفتوة فتعني التحقق بالفضائل وخصوصا الشجاعة والمروءة والكرم والسخاء، وتطورت إلى معنى الإيثار والتضحية وكف الأذى وبذل الندى وترك الشكوى وإسقاط الجاه ومحاربة النفس، ومن أشهر رجالها أبو حمدون القصار(ت٢٧١ه / ٨٨٤م)، وأبو حفص الحداد (ت٢٦٠ه / ٨٧٤م). وما يميز «الملامتية» العناية ببحث الجانب السلبي للمعاني الصوفية، فالملامتي لا يتحدث عن الأفعال والثناء عليها، وإنما عن ذم الأفعال واللوم عليها ورؤية جانب التقصير فيها، فلا يتكلم عن الإخلاص بقدر كلامه عن الرياء، ويفضل الحديث عن نقائص الأعمال ومساوئها على الحديث عن مناقب الأعمال ومحاسنها، فأكثر حديث هذه المدرسة على النفس اللوامة وجهاد النفس وغيرها من المعاني السلبية[٥٢].

دخل التصوف عصره الذهبي في القرنين الثالث والرابع الهجريين، حيث ظهرت مصنفات صوفية تمتاز بالنضج والتنظيم، أمثال: كتاب «اللمع» لأبي نصر السراج الطوسي (ت٣٧٨ه / ٩٩٨م)، وكتاب «قوت القلوب» لأبي طالب المكي (ت٣٨٨ه)، وظهرت خلال القرنين الرابع والخامس الهجريين مصنفات صوفية اسبغت عليه مشروعية سنية، أمثال: كتاب «التعرف لمذهب أهل التصوف» لأبي بكر الكلاباذي (ت٣٨٠ه / ٩٩٠م)، وكتاب «الرسالة القشيرية» للقشيري (ت٤٦٥ه / ١٠٧٣م)، وان لشخصية الغزالي (ت ٥٠٥ه / ١١١١م) وكتابه «إحياء علوم الدين» أثر بالغ بإدخال التصوف في نطاق الإسلام السني.

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٥٢- لمزيد من التفصيل، أنظر: أبي العلا عفيفي، الملامتية والصوفية وأهل الفتوة، القاهرة، ١٩٤٥.

المعنى عبر تأويلات رمزية وصلت حدود الغنوصية، إذ عمل انتقالها لبيئات ثقافية متشبعة بالنظريات الفلسفية الأفلاطونية المحدثة والمختلطة بعناصر شرقية روحانية على تأثر وتلبس قطاعات من أبنائها بعقائدها، مما زاد الخلاف والعداء بينهم وبين الفقهاء والمتكلمين، تبلور إلى تعارض في مناهج البحث والمعرفة، فالمنهج الفقهي والكلامي أخذ بالاستدلال العقلي والقياس المنطقي والبرهان، فيما أخذ الصوفية بمنهج الكشف والذوق والإلهام، الذي يستند إلى العرفان فالعلم اليقيني الحق هو العلم اللدني الذي يلقيه الله في قلب المؤمن ممن بلغ درجة المكاشفة[٤٦]، فلا علم «إلا ما كان عن كشف وشهود لا عن فكر وظن، لأن الأفكار محل الغلط»[٤٧]، وبحسب الكلاباذي: «اجمعوا على أن الدليل على الله هو الله وحده. قال رجل للنوري: ما الدليل على الله؟ قال: الله تعالى. قال: فما العقل؟ قال: العقل عاجز، والعاجز لا يدل إلا على عتجز مثله»[٤٨] وبهذا نشأ نوع من التصوف ارتبط بالنظر الفلسفي، وتكونت لديه رؤية ومنهج في المعرفة والوجود، ويظهر ذلك جليا في تعريفهم للتصوف، فبحسب معروف الكرخي (ت٢٠٠ه / ٨١٥م): «التصوف هو الأخذ بالحقائق»[٤٩]، وبحسب الجنيد البغدادي (٢٩٨ه / ٩١٠م): «التصوف هو أن يميتك الحق عنك ويحييك به»[٥٠]، وبحسب أبو بكر الكتاني (ت٣٢٢ه / ٩٣٤م): «التصوف صفاء ومشاهدة»[٥١].

وفي هذه الحقبة بدأت مدارس الصوفية الكبرى بالتشكل، حيث ظهرت المدرسة البغدادية كوريثة لمدرستي الكوفة والبصرة، ومن أشهر أعلامها تلاميذ معروف الكرخي (ت٢٠٠ه / ٨١٥م) أمثال: سري السقطي (ت٢٥٤ه / ٨٦٨م)، والحارث المحاسبي (ت٢٤٩ه / ٨٥٧م)، وأبي القاسم الجنيد (ت٢٩٨ه / ٩١٠م)، وأبي سعيد الخراز (ت٢٩٧ه / ٩٠٩م)، وأبي الحسن النوري (ت٢٩٥ه / ٩٠٨م)، وغيرهم، وصولا إلى ابن عطاء (ت٣١١ه / ٩٢٣م)، والحلاج (ت٣٠٩ه / ٩٢٢م)، والشبلي (ت٣٣٤ه / ٩٤٦م)، والمدرسة الخراسانية ومن أبرز أعلامها تلاميذ إبراهيم بن أدهم (ت١٦١ه / ٧٧٨م)، وشقيق البلخي (ت١٩٤ه / ٨١٠م)، أمثال: بشر

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٤٦- عرفان عبد الحميد، نشأة الفلسفة الصوفية في الإسلام وتطورها، ص١٥٩.

٤٧- الشعراني، لواقح الأنظار، ١ / ٥.

٤٨- أنظر: الكلاباذي، التعرف لمذهب أهل التصوف، ص٣٧.

٤٩- القشيري، الرسالة القشيرية، ص٢٨٠.

٥٠- القشيري، الرسالة القشيرية، ص٢٨٠.

٥١- الكلاباذي، التعرف لمذهب أهل التصوف، ص١٠٨.

ويعتبر الفقيه أحمد بن حنبل (ت٢٤١ه / ٨٥٥م) من أبرز المناهضين للتصوف وكان بدوره قد تعرض للمحنة على يد المعتزلة إبان خلافة المأمون والمعتصم والواثق، وبلغ الاضهاد ذروته من قبل أتباعه من الحنابلة في الحادثة المعروفة بمحنة «غلام الخليل»، والتي أتهم فيها نحو سبعين صوفيا من بينهم الجنيد شيخ الطائفة ببغداد وحكموا على اثرها بالإعدام ثم أفرج عنهم[٤٢]. وبلغ المتصوفة درجة سفهوا معها منهج الفقه والحديث، إذ يقول أبو يزيد البسطامي: «مساكين أخذوا علمهم ميت عن ميت، وأخذنا علمنا عن الحي الذي لا يموت»، وكان ذو النون المصري يقول: «علم الظاهر حدثنا وأخبرنا ونهانا وأمرنا، وعلم الباطن مواهب من الله وميثاق منه على خاصته يحكم به عليهم فيما بينه وبينهم لا يطلع عليه: ملك مقرب ولا نبي مرسل»، واشتهر عن الصوفية قولهم: «حدثني قلبي عن ربي»[٤٣].

شكلت ثنائية الشريعة / الحقيقة الأساس الذي اختلفت فيه الصوفية مع الفقهاء، فبحسب المتصوفة تتوجه عناية الفقهاء إلى ظاهر الشرع، دون الدخول في باطنه، فالشريعة تنقسم إلى علمين، الأول: علم ظاهر الشريعة وهو الذي يدرس الأعمال التي تجري على الجوارح من العبادات كالصلاة والصوم والحج، والمعاملات كالزواج والطلاق والبيع، وهو ما يسمى علم الفقه ويمثله الفقهاء وأهل الفتيا، والثاني: علم الباطن وأعمال القلوب، ويمثله المتصوفة، وبهذا فالتصوف علم الحقائق وأهله هم أرباب الحقائق وأهل الفهم، أما الآخرون فهم أهل الظاهر وعلماء الرسوم، ويؤكد على ذلك رويم البغدادي (ت٣٠٣ه / ٩١٥م) بقوله: «كل الخلق قعدوا على الرسوم، وقعدت هذه الطائفة (الصوفية) على الحقائق. وطالب الخلق كلهم أنفسهم بظواهر الشرع، وهم طالبوا أنفسهم بحقيقة الورع ومداومة الصدق»[٤٤]. فالصوفية تشدد على ضرورة التزام الشرع واتباع الدين، إلا أنهم لم بفهمو من الدين حرفيته ولا من الشريعة مجرد طقوسها، بل كانو ينحون دائما في فهم الدين والشريعة نحوا يختلف قليلا أو كثيرا عن منحى الفقهاء، وفي هذا تظهر ثورتهم عليهم[٤٥].

إن عناية الصوفية بعلم باطن الشريعة وحقيقتها اتسع بحيث اتخذ مسارات في البحث عن

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٤٢- أنظر: أبو العلا عفيفي، التصوف: الثورة الروحية في الإسلام، ص١١٢-١١٤.

٤٣- أنظر: ابن الجوزي، تلبيس إبليس، ص٣١٧.

٤٤- القشيري، الرسالة القشيرية، ص٢٠.

٤٥- أبو العلا عفيفي، التصوف: الثورة الروحية في الإسلام، ص١٢٩.

لقد اتخذ التصوف الإسلامي مسارات متشعبة في تطوره التاريخي، فالنشأة التعبدية الزهدية الأخلاقية التي طبعت سلوكه في الإسلام المبكر حافظت على رسوخها وتكشفت عن إضافات نظرية وعملية، وباتت مدارس ونظريات ومذاهب، إذ شهد آخر القرن الثاني الهجري تحولا طبيعيا من الزهد إلى آفاق الحب والفناء والمعرفة، مع ظهور أبو يزيد البسطامي (ت٢٠١ه / ٨٧٤م) وعقيدة الفناء، والجنيد (ت٢٤٥ه / ٩١٠م) ونظريته في التوحيد، وذي النون المصري (ت٢٤٥ه / ٨٥٩م) ومنهجه في المعرفة، والحلاج (ت٣٠٩ه / ٩٢٢م) وتجربته في الحلول.

إن التحولات التي طالت التصوف الإسلامي تطورت في سياق التحولات التاريخية الاجتماعية والسياسية والثقافية للإسلام ذاته، فقد تبلور عن مدارس ومذاهب فلسفية وفقهية وكلامية عديدة، بفعل الاتصال ببيئات حضارية متعددة ودخول الترجمات الفلسفية العقلية، فدخلت في خصومات وجدالات واختلافات نزعت عن الدين بساطته الأولى وأسفرت عن نظريات في الألوهية والربوبية متباينة، وقدمت الصوفية اجتهاداتها وتصوراتها المستقلة في شتى المسائل المطروحة، واشتدت الخصومة بين الصوفية والفقهاء بسبب تبني الفقهاء لمنهج استنباطي في تقرير الأحكام الشرعية وتطبيقها والعمل بمقتضاها اعتبرته الصوفية لا يتجاوز حدود الظاهر، وانتهجت مسلكا يقوم على البحث عن الباطن مع حفظ الظاهر.

جلب المسلك الصوفي على أتباعه نقمة الفقهاء والمحدثين منذ القرن الثالث الهجري واتسعت دائرة العداء في مصر والشام والعراق وصلت حد التكفير والقتل كما حدث مع الحلاج[٤١]،

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٤١- حول مأساة الحلاج، أنظر: لويس ماسينيون، آلام الحلاج: شهيد التصوف الإسلامي، ترجمة الحيسن مصطفى حلاج، قدمس للنشر والنوزيع، بيروت، الطبعة الأولى، ٢٠٠٤.

مسارات التشكل التاريخي

وتطهيرها ومجاهدتها بترك المعاصي والتحلي بنقيضها من الصفات والأفعال[٣٨]، وبحسب الغزالي فإن طريق الوصول إلى الله: «هو العلم بكيفية تطهير القلب من الخبائث والمكدرات بالكف عن الشهوات والاقتداء بالأنبياء صلوات الله عليهم في جميع أحوالهم، فبقدر ما ينجلي من القلب ويحاذي به شطر الحق تتلألأ فيه حقائق الوجود»[٣٩].

من هنا ظهرت مصنفات صوفية عديدة تناولت آفات النفس وتخصصت في الجانب الأخلاقي؛ ككتاب «الرعاية لحقوق الله» للمحاسبي، و«قوت القلوب» للمكي، و«إحياء علوم الدين» للغزالي، و«الفتوحات المكية» لابن عربي، وفي الجانب العملي أوجب المتصوفة على المريد السلوك على شيخ متحقق يكون هاديا ومرشدا للترقي خلقيا بالتدرج في الأحوال والمقامات، بدءا بالتوبة وصولا إلى المشاهدة[٤٠].

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٣٨- أنظر: قاسم غني، تاريخ التصوف في الإسلام، تعريب صادق نشأت، القاهرة، ١٩٧٠، ص٤٢٧.

٣٩- أبو حامد الغزالي، إحياء علوم الدين، بيروت، ١ / ٢٠.

٤٠- أنظر: محمد بن الطيب، إسلام المتصوفة، دار الطليعة، الطبعة الاولى، بيروت، ٢٠٠٧، ص٣١.

ويمثل الجانب الأخلاقي أحد أهم الانشغالات الصوفية، بالاستناد إلى القرآن والسنة، فالآية القرآنية: (وإِنَّكَ لَعَلى خُلُقٍ عَظيم[٣٠])، التي تمتدح النبي حاسمة في دلالتها، وما ورد في السنة من قوله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلّم: «إنما بعثت لأتمم مكارم الأخلاق»[٣١] واضحة في إرشادها، فالاستقامة في السلوك لا تتحقق إلا بالتخ، لي عن الأخلاق الرذيلة والصفات المذمومة، والتحلي بالفضائل الحميدة وتمام الأدب، فالأدب هو الأساس كما قال أبو حفص النيسابوري(ت٢٧٠هـ): «التصوف كله أدب، لكل وقت أدب، ولكل مقام أدب، فمن لزم آداب الأوقات بلغ مبلغ الرجال، ومن ضيع الآداب فهو بعيد من حيث يظن القرب، ومردود من حيث يرجو القبول»[٣٢]، والتصوف بحسب محمد بن علي القصاب (ت٢٧٥هـ) أستاذ الجنيد: «أخلاق كريمة ظهرت في زمان كريم من رجل كريم مع قوم كرام»[٣٣]، وقال أبو محمد الجريري (ت٣١١هـ) إن التصوف هو: «الدخول في كل خلق سني، والخروج من كل خلق دني»[٣٤]، ونسب الهجويري قولا للإمام محمد الباقر عليه السلام(ت١١٣أو ١١٧هـ): «التصوف خلق، فمن زاد عليك في الخلق زاد عليك في التصوف»[٣٥]، بل إن أبا الحسين النوري(ت٢٩٥ه) يتجاوز البعد المعرفي للتصوف ليقيم أصوله على البعد الأخلاقي بقوله: «ليس التصوف رسوماً ولا علوماً، ولكنها أخلاق»[٣٦].

ويؤكد ابن قيم الجوزية (ت٧٥١ه / ١٦٥٠م)، على كون الأخلاق تمثل جوهر التصوف بقوله: «واجتمعت كلمة الناطقين في هذا العلم: أن التصوف هو الخلق»[٣٧]. فقد شاع هذا التصور بعد القرن الثالث الهجري باعتبار النفس الإنسانية منبع الشرور والصفات الدنيئة والافعال القبيحة مثل الكبر والحسد والبخل والغضب والحقد والطمع وغيرها، ولا بد من ترويضها

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٣٠- القرآن الكريم، سورة القلم، الآية ٤.

٣١- رواه مالك في الموطأ، ص٤٧٣.

٣٢- أبو عبد الرحمن السلمي، طبقات الصوفية، ص١١٩.

٣٣- الطوسي، اللمع، ص٤٥، والقشيري، الرسالة القشيرية، ص٢٨٠.

٣٤- الطوسي، اللمع، ص٤٥.

٣٥- الهجويري، كشف المحجوب، ص٢٣٤. والأرجح أن هذا القول لأبي بكر الكتاني (ت٣٢٢) لأن أغلب المصادر الصوفية تنسبه إليه.

٣٦- أبو عبد الرحمن السلمي طبقات الصوفية، ص١٦٧.

٣٧- ابن قيم الجوزية، مدارج السالكين، دار الجيل، بيروت، ١٩٧٢، ٢ / ٣١٦.

من السياسة والمجتمع المطبوع بالفساد والاستبداد، ودعت للإصلاح من خلال الانسحاب والعزلة والفرار من الناس طمعا في عودة الصفاء والاطمئنان إلى النفوس القلقة، فبحسب أبو طالب المكي (ت٣٨٨ ه / ٩٩٦م): «أول الزهد دخول غم الآخرة في القلب... ولا يدخل غم الآخرة حتى يخرج هم الدنيا»[٢٢]، وبلغ الزهد والعزلة حد التخفي بالقفار والكهوف والمقابر كما فعل أمثال إبراهيم بن أدهم (ت١٦١ه / ٧٨٨م)[٢٣].

أخذ الزهد لدى الصوفية مسارات أكثر نضجا واكتمالا وبات رياضة روحية ضرورية للوصول إلى المعرفة، فعندما سئل المتصوف الشهير أبو يزيد البسطامي بأي شيء وجدت هذه المعرفة؟ قال: «ببطن جائع وبدن عار»[٢٤]، ويقول سيد الطائفة الجنيد البغدادي (ت٢٩٣ه / ٩١٠م): «ما أخذنا التصوف عن القيل والقال ولكن عن الجوع وترك الدنيا وقطع المألوفات والمستحسنات، لأن التصوف هو صفاء المعاملة مع الله وأصله التعزف عن الدنيا»[٢٥].

وإذا كان الزهد أحد أهم المقدمات المدشنة للتصوف المبكر، فقد أضيفت له مكونات أخرى بحيث أصبح مدرسة تقوم على أركان عديدة، فبحسب نيكلسون: «الصوفية الأولون كانوا في الحقيقة زهادا وادعين، أكثر منهم متصوفة»[٢٦]، ويقول الدكتور عبد الحليم محمود: «الزهد في الدنيا شيء، والتصوف شيء آخر، ولا يلزم عن كون الصوفي زاهدا، أن يكون التصوف هو الزهد» [٢٧]. وتؤكد الدكتورة سعاد الحكيم بأن: «البداية لم تكن – كما ظن بعض الباحثين — في الزهد، الزهد يتبع الحياة النفسية، بل تجلت في حالات الوجد، التي كانت خير تعبير عن إحساس العبد بالحضور الإلهي»[٢٨]، وينبه ابن الجوزي على ذلك بقوله: «الصوفية من جملة الزهاد، وقد ذكرنا تلبيس إبليس على الزهاد، إلا أن الصوفية انفردوا عن الزهاد بصفات وأحوال، وتوسموا بسمات، فاحتجنا إلى إفرادهم بالذكر»[٢٩].

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٢٢– أبو طالب المكي، قوت القلوب في معاملة المحبوب، بيروت، ٢٠٠٣، ١ / ٤٩٩.

٢٣– أبو بكر الكلاباذي، التعرف لمذهب التصوف، بيروت، ١٩٩٣، ص١١.

٢٤– أبو عبد الرحمن السلمي، طبقات الصوفية، ص٦٦.

٢٥– المصدر السابق، ص١٤٣.

٢٦– نيكلسون، الصوفية في الإسلام، ص١٢.

٢٧– عبد الحليم بن محمود، مقدمة المنقذ من الضلال، ص٤٠.

٢٨– سعاد الحكيم، عودة الواصل، ص٨٩.

٢٩– ابن الجوزي، تلبيس إبليس ص١٦١.

يعتبر العامل الدبني حاسما في نشأة التصوف الإسلامي استنادا إلى المصادر الإسلامية الأصيلة من الكتاب والسنة، فقد ظهرت نواته الأولى لدى الصحابة من خلال التيار التعبدي الزهدي، إلا أن اسباب ظهوره تعززت بجملة من العوامل السياسية والاجتماعية والثقافية، فالظروف التي عايشها الإسلام المبكر والتي تمثلت بالفوضى السياسية والنزاع على السلطة والفتن والحروب الداخلية عملت على شيوع حالة من القلق الروحي وإحساس بالظلم الاجتماعي وانتشار التفاوت الطبقي بين مترف ومعدم، الأمر الذي أدى إلى تنامي تيار الزهد، فبحسب نيكلسون تعددت عوامل نشأة التصوف فمعاناة المسلمين من ظلم الحكام واستبدادهم بعث على الميل إلى الزهد كأداة للاحتجاج والثورة الروحية على السلطة[٢٠]،وبهذا اتخذ مسار التشكل الصوفي في بداياته مظهرا زهديا تعبديا أخلاقيا.

تشكل التيار الزهدي التعبدي الأخلاقي بقوة بفعل العامل السياسي الاجتماعي في الإسلام، كخيار فردي يسعى لإصلاح الذات ابتداءا تمهيدا لإصلاح المجتمع المثقل بعسف السلطة الحاكمة وتعبيرا عن العودة إلى القيم الإسلامية الفاضلة، فالزهد مثل المقدمة الضرورية لقيام التصوف المطبوع بالعزلة وقطع العلائق مع البشر والركون إلى الدنيا والإقبال على الله والآخرة، وبهذا تبلورت طبقة من الزهاد في المجتمع الإسلامي تكاثرت تاريخيا، وأصبحت تيارا منظما في البصرة والكوفة والشام ونيسابور فمن الجيل الأول أشتهر داود الطائي (ت١٦٥ه / ٧٨١م)، وسفيان الثوري (ت١٦١ه / ٧٧٧م)، والحسن البصري (ت١١١ه / ٧٢٠م)، وعبدالواحد بن زيد (ت١٧٧ه / ٧٩٣م)، ورابعة العدوية (ت١٨٥ ه / ٨٠١م)، وغيرهم[٢١]. اتخذت موقفا صارما

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٢٠- نيكلسون، في التصوف الإسلامي وتاريخه، تعرببيب أبو العلا عفيفي، القاهرة، ١٩٥٦، ص٤٦.

٢١- عرفت هذه الطبقة بالزهاد والعباد والنساك والبكاؤون، أنظر: عرفان عبد الحميد فتاح، نشأة الفلسفة الصوفية وتطورها، دار الجيل، بيروت، الطبعة الأولى، ١٩٩٣، ص٨٧.

الأسباب والبواعث

(ت٧٢٨ه/١٣٢٨م)، موقفا انتقاديا وسطا من التصوف يستند إلى التفريق بين صوفيات عديدة، فهو يقول عقب بيان أصولها الزهدية التعبدية الأخلاقية: صارت الصوفية ثلاثة أصناف: صوفية الحقائق، وصوفية الأرزاق، وصوفية الرسم[١٩].

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١٩– ابن تيمية، مجموع الفتاوى، ١١ / ١٩. ولمزيد من التفصيل حول موقف ابن تيمية، أنظر: د. محمد عبدالرحمن العريفي، موقف ابن تيمية من الصوفية، دار المنهاج، الرياض، الطبعة الأولى، ١٤٣٠ ه. والدكتور مصطفى حلمي، ابن تيمية والتصوف، دار الدعوة، الاسكندرية، الطبعة الثانية، ١٩٨٢.

ومن أبرز العلماء الذين عارضوا الصوفية، جمال الدين أبو الفرج بن الجوزي (ت٥٩٧هـ / ١٢٠٠م)، ومحمد بن عبد الوهاب (ت١٢٠٦ه/١٧٩٢م).[١٨] واتخذ تقي الدين بن تيمية

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١٨- تراكمت قديما وحديثا مجموعة كبيرة من الكتب والدراسات الناقدة للتصوف، أنظر على سبيل المثال:

- تحقيق ما للهند من مقولة مقبولة في العقل أو مرذولة، لأبي الريحان محمد البيروني، عالم الكتب، الطبعة الثانية ١٤٠٣ / ١٩٨٣.

- ظهر الإسلام، لأحمد أمين، دار الكتاب العربي، بيروت، الطبعة الخامسة.

- بنية العقل العربي، دراسة تحليلية نقدية لنظم المعرفة في الثقافة العربية، للدكتور محمد الجابري، مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، بيروت، الطبعة الخامسة ١٩٩٦.

- تلبيس إبليس، لجمال الدين أبي الفرج عبد الرحمن بن الجوزي، عنيت بنشره إدارة الطباعة المنيرية، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت.

- التصوف بين الحق والخلق، لمحمد فهر شقفة، الدار السلفية، الطبعة الثالثة ١٤٠٣ / ١٩٨٣.

- التصوف في الإسلام، للدكتور عمر فروخ، دار الكتاب العربي، بيروت، ١٤٠١ / ١٩٨١.

- التصوف المنشأ والمصادر، لإحسان إلهي ظهير، إدارة ترجمان السنة، لاهور، الطبعة الأولى ١٤٠٦.

- الرد على القائلين بوحدة الوجود لعلي بن سلطان القارئ، تحقيق: على رضا بن علي رضا، دار المأمون للتراث، الطبعة الأولى ١٤١٥ / ١٩٩٥.

- شطحات الصوفية، لعبدالرحمن بدوي، وكالة المطبوعات، الكويت، الطبعة الثانية ١٩٧٦.

- الصوفية الوجه الآخر، للدكتور محمد غازي، إعداد: عبد المنعم الجداوي، لقاء صحفي.

- الصوفية في الإسلام، نيكلسون، ترجمة وتعليق: نور الدين شريبة، الناشر: مكتبة الخانجي بالقاهرة، الطبعة الثانية ١٤٢٢ه.

- في التصوف الإسلامي وتاريخه، طائفة من الدراسات قام بها رينولد نيكلسون، نقلها إلى العربية وعلق عليها: أبو العلا عفيفي، مطبعة لجنة التأليف والترجمة والنشر، القاهرة، ١٣٨٨ / ١٩٦٩.

- العقل الأخلاقي العربي، دراسة تحليلية لنظم القيم في الثقافة العربية، للدكتور محمد الجابري، المركز الثقافي العربي، الطبعة الأولى ٢٠٠١.

- مدارج السالكين بين منازل إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين، لأبي عبد الله محمد بن أبي بكر بن أيوب بن قيم الجوزية، راجعه: لجنة من العلماء بإشراف الناشر، دار الحديث، القاهرة.

- نشأة الفكر الفلسفي، للدكتور علي سامي النشار، دار المعارف، الطبعة السابعة ١٩٧٧.

وقال شيخ الإسلام زكريا الأنصاري (ت٩٢٦ه / ١٥٢٠م): «هو علم تُعرف به أحوال تزكية النفوس، وتصفية الأخلاق، وتعمير الظاهر والباطن، لنيل السعادة الأبدية، وموضوعه التزكية والتصفية والتعمير المذكورات، وغايته نيل السعادة الأبدية، ومسائله ما يذكر فى كتبه من المقاصد. وهذا العلم علم الوراثة التى هى نتيجة العمل، المشار إليه بخبر: من عَمل بما عَلم، ورّثه الله علِمَ ما لم يَعْلَم»[١٥].

ويقول الإمام الشعرانى (ت٩٧٣ه / ١٥٦٥م): «اعلم يا أخي رحمك الله أن علم التصوف عبارة عن علم انقدح فى قلوب الأولياء حين استنارت بالعمل بالكتاب والسنة، فكل من عمل بهما انقدح له من ذلك علوم وآداب وأسرار وحقائق تعجز الألسن عنها»[١٦].

شغلت مسألة مصدر التصوف الإسلامي الفقهاء والمفكرين قديما وحديثا، ففى المجال الإسلامي نجد من يؤيد التصوف ويدافع عنه باعتباره تجلِّيًا من التجليات الروحية للإسلام، وفى نفس الوقت، هناك من يعارض التصوف ويصل به حد التكفير؛ فالمؤيدون للتصوف يُثبتون أصالته الإسلامية، استنادا إلى القرآن والسنة، كالإمام أبو حامد الغزالي (ت٥٠٥ه / ١١١١م)، ومعه أصحاب المصنفات الصوفية الكبرى من أمثال أبى نصر السراج الطوسي (ت٣٧٨ه / ٩٨٨م)، وأبى القاسم عبد الكريم القشيري (ت٤٦٥ه / ١٠٧٢م)، وغيرهم، ومن العلماء المتأخرين جلال الدين السيوطي (ت٩١١ه / ١٥٠٥م)، وزكريا الأنصاري (ت٩٢٦ه / ١٥٢٠م)، وغيرهم كثيرون، ومن الباحثين المحدثين والمعاصرين طائفة كبييرة أمثال مصطفى عبد الرازق (ت١٩٤٧)، وأبو العلا عفيفي (ت١٩٦٤)، ومحمد مصطفى حلمي (ت١٩٦٩)، وأبو الوفا التفتازاني (ت١٩٩٥) وعبد الرحمن بدوي (ت ٢٠٠٢)، باعتباره ظاهرة إسلامية أصيلة، تعرض لبعض التأثرات من بيئات مختلفة، كشأن العلوم الإسلامية الأخرى[١٧].

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١٥- محمد على حمد، حقيقة التصوف وكرامات الأولياء، مطبعة جامعة الخرطوم، الخرطوم، ١٩٧٩، ص٢.

١٦- عبد الوهاب الشعراني، الطبقات الكبرى، دار الفكر العربي، القاهرة، بدون تاريخ، جـ١، ص٤.

١٧- أنظر: جوزيبى سكاتولين وأحمد حسن أنور، «التجليات الروحية فى الإسلام: نصوص صوفية عبر التاريخ»، الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، الطبعة الأولى، ٢٠٠٨، ص١٣.

وتتوافر الصوفية على تعريفات عديدة قديمة وحديثة يصعب حصرها، إلا أنها تتشابه كثيرا في المضامين فبحسب أبو الوفا الغنيمي التفتازاني: «التصوف فلسفة حياة تهدف إلى الترقي بالنفس الإنسانية أخلاقيًا، وتتحقق بواسطة رياضيات عملية معيَّنة تؤدي إلى الشعور فى بعض الأحيان بالفناء فى الحقيقة الأسمى، والعرفان بها ذوقًا لا عقلاً، وثمرتُها السعادة الروحية، ويصعب التعبير عن حقائقها بألفاظ اللغة العادية لأنها وجدانية الطابع وذاتية»[١٢].

ويتضمن هذا التعريف أهم العناصر التى يتميز بها التصوف الإسلامي، كالترقي الأخلاقي، والفناء في الحقيقة العليا، والعرفان الذوقي المباشر، والطمأنينة والسعادة الروحية، والرمزية فى التعبير الصوفي، ويبين ماهيته، فبحسب التفتازاني فإن «نظرة تحليلية إلى التصوف تبين لنا أن الصوفية على اختلافهم يتصورون طريقًا للسلوك إلى الله، تبدأ بمجاهدة النفس أخلاقيًا، ويتدرج السالك له فى مراحل متعددة تُعرف عندهم بالمقامات والأحوال، وينتهى من مقاماته وأحواله إلى المعرفة بالله، وهى نهاية الطريق. ويعني الصوفية بالمقام مقام العبد بين يدَي الله فيما يقام فيه من العبادات والمجاهدات والرياضيات. ومن أمثلة المقامات عندهم: التوبة والزهد والورع والفقر والصبر والرضا والتوكل وما إلى ذلك. أما الأحوال فهي ما يحل بالقلوب أو تحل به القلوب من صفاء الأذكار، وليس الحال، كما يقول الطوسي، من طريق المجاهدات والعبادات التي ذكرناها، ومن أمثلة الأحوال عندهم: المراقبة والقرب والمحبة والخوف والرجاء والشوق والأنس والطمأنينة والمشاهدة واليقين وغير ذلك»[١٣].

وهناك عدد كبير من التعريفات للتصوف تَرِد فى مختلف المصنفات الصوفية، وهى تُوضح وتُبين مفهوم التصوف ومضمونه عند أصحابه، يقول أبو القاسم النصراباذي (ت ٣٦٧هـ / ٩٧٧م): «التصوف نورٌ مِنَ الحق يدُلُ على الحق، وَخَاطَرٌ مِنهُ يشير إليه، التصوفُ فَناؤكَ عن الكونين لِيَبْقى، مُكَوِنُهُمَا»[١٤].

موضوع التصوف، ص٩–٢١.

١٢– أبو الوفا الغنيمى التفتازاني، مدخل إلى التصوف الإسلامي، دار الثقافة للطباعة والنشر، القاهرة، ١٩٧٩، ص٨.

١٣– التفتازاني، مدخل، ص٣٨–٣٩.

١٤– عبد الملك الخركوشي، تهذيب الأسرار، تحقيق بسام بارود، المجمع الثقافى، أبو ظبي، الإمارات، ١٩٩٩، ص٣٦–٣٧.

هناك جدل كبير حول أصل كلمة «التصوف» ومشتقاتها مثل «صُوفي»، و«مُتَصوِّف»، وجمعه «صُوفيَّة» أو «مُتصوِّفَة»، وفعله «تَصَوَّفَ» ومصدره «تَصَوُّف»، فقد اختلفت الآراء وتشعبت، إلا أن الدارسين، قُدامى ومحدَثين، أجمعوا على أن لفظة «صوفي» مشتقة من لفظ «الصُّوف»، ومن الأصل (ص و ف)، فهو الاشتقاق الوحيد الذى تحتمله اللغة، ومنه يأتى اللفظ الصوفي (النسبة) واللفظ تَصَوَّف (الفعل) أي «لبس الصوف»، واللفظ التصوُّف (المصدر). وهناك روايات عديدة بهذا الصدد تُثبت بأن الصوف أصبح منذ بداية القرن الثانى الهجرى شعارًا منتشرًا بين الزهاد والعباد الأوائل، تمييزا لهم عن حياة الترف والبذخ التي انتشرت بين الأغنياء والأمراء، ونجد فى روايات صوفية عديدة نسبة لبس الصوف للأنبياء والأتقياء.

وتقدم المصنفات الصوفية اشتقاقات أخرى للفظ «صوفي» كالقول بإن لفظ «صوفي» مشتق من الفعل (صفا- يصفو- صَفاءً)، ومنه العبارة (صوفي قلبُه)، أى طُهِّر من كل ذنوبه ورذائله، فالصوفي هو من طهَّر الله قلبَه وصفَّاه فلذلك سُمِّي صُوفي، وقال آخرون بإن اللفظ مشتق من «أهل الصُفَّة»، وهم قوم من فقراء المهاجرين بنُيت لهم صُفَّة (أى مكان مُظلَّل) إلى جانب مسجد رسول الإسلام بالمدينة، فمدحهم الرسول على ذلك. أي أن أهل التصوف هم امتداد لهؤلاء الفقراء والزهاد الأوائل الذين أوصى بهم الرسول وأقر بأمرهم. وهناك من يقول إنه مشتق من لفظ «الصَّفّ»، إشارة إلى أنهم فى الصف الأول أمام الله. وبعضهم يقول إنه مشتق من الكلمة اليونانية (sofos) ومعناها «الحكيم»، لأنهم اعتبروا أنفسهم من أهل الحكمة والخبرة فهم أصحاب المعرفة الحقيقية. إلا أن هذا الاشتقاق الأخير يبدو ضعيفًا جدًا إذْ إن الكلمة اليونانية (sofos) عُرّبت عادة عند الفلاسفة المسلمين بكلمة (سوفوس) وليس بـ(صوفي).[١١]

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١١- لمزيد من التفصيل حول أصل التسمية والاشتقاق والنسبة، أنظر: د. أمين يوسف عودة، دراسة في أصل مصطلح التصوف ودلالته، مركز اللغات، جامعة آل البيت. لطف الله خوجة،

أصول التسمية والتعريف

ثم نمت وتطورت فى القرنين الثاني والثالث الهجريين مع التعمق في خبرة الحب الإلهى مع أمثال رابعة العدوية البصرية (ت١٨٥ه / ٨٠١ م)، ومع فكرة الفناء والبقاء مع أمثال الجنيد (ت٢٩٨ه / ٩١٠م)، ووصلت آخر المطاف إلى مأساة الحسين بن منصور الحلاج (ت٣٠٩ه / ٩٢٢م) والتي تُمثل فى التاريخ الإسلامي أحد مظاهر التوتر والتصادم بين حركة الفقراء (المتصوفة) وعالم الفقهاء (المتكلمين). وأتخذت مسارين: الأول عُرف بالتصوف السُّنى فى القرنين الرابع والخامس الهجريين وما بعدهما، حيث اجتهد أصحابه، من أمثال الإمام أبى حامد محمد الغزالي (ت٥٠٥ه / ١١١١م) وغيره، فى إيجاد صيغة توافقٍ مُقنع بين الخبرة الصوفية الباطنة وظاهر الشريعة الإسلامية. وأنتج هذا الاتجاه مصنَّفات صوفية عظيمة معروفة، أمثال «الرسالة القشيرية» للإمام أبى القاسم عبد الكريم القشيرى (ت٤٦٥ه / ١٠٧٢م)، و«إحياء علوم الدين» لأبى حامد محمد الغزالى، وهو يمثل قمة التصوف السني، والثاني: فلسفي توغل فى مجالات أكثر نظرية، تمثل بأصحاب مدرسة «وحدة الوجود» فى القرنين السادس والسابع الهجريين وما بعدهما، أمثال محيى الدين بن عربي (ت٦٣٨ه / ١٢٤٠م) وغيره. فقد اجتهد فى إيجاد صيغة توفق بين التصوف وبين ما يسمى «باطن الشريعة الإسلامية»، بمعناها العميق ومقصدها الأعلى. وقد أنتج مصنَّفات صوفية عظيمة متشبعة بنظريات فلسفية فريدة عميقة مبدعة، ومنذ القرن السادس الهجري / الثاني عشر الميلادى فصاعدًا، تطورت حركة التصوف وتوسعت فيما يُعرَف بظاهرة الطرق الصوفية، التى ازدهرت وانتشرت فى العالم الإسلامي حتى الوقت الراهن[١٠].

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١٠- أنظر: جوزيبى سكاتولين وأحمد حسن أنور، «التجليات الروحية فى الإسلام: نصوص صوفية عبر التاريخ»، الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، الطبعة الأولى، ٢٠٠٨، ص٧.

وذهب آخرون أمثال أوليري، ونيكلسون، وبراون إلى القول بالمصدر اليونانى للتصوف الإسلامي، وخاصة الفلسفة الأفلاطونية المحدثة. نظرا لوجود تشابه كبير بين الفلسفة الأفلاطونية المحدثة وفكرة بعض الصوفية الذين تكلموا عن الواحد والكلمة (Logos)، وعن الفيض وصدور العالم من الواحد، وعن مراتب الكون.

ورجح غيرهم أمثال جولدزيهر، وفون كريمر، ودوزي، وآسين بلاثيوس، وأوليري، ونيكلسون، وتور اندري، وغيرهم، القول بالمصدر المسيحي، أو بالثقافات الدينية الأخرى كالثقافة اليهودية وغيرها نظرا للتشابه بين فكرة الحب الإلهي التي ظهرت مبكرا لدى بعض صوفية المسلمين وأفكار مسيحية مشابهة، ونظرا لوجود أقوال صوفية تدعو لحياة الزهد والتقشف والتنسك تشبه أقوال الرهبان المسيحيين[٦].

ويمثل التصوف الإسلامي ثورة روحية فالدارسين للتصوف الإسلامى يشددون على اعتباره البعدالروحي من الدين الإسلامي، فقد عَنْوَن محمد مصطفى حلمى، كتابه فى التصوف بـ «الحياة الروحية فى الإسلام»[٧]، وكذلك أبو العلا عفيفي عنون كتابه بـ «التصوف، الثورة الروحية فى الإسلام»[٨]. فالتصوف الإسلامي يمثل البُعد الروحى للدين الإسلامي، وأطلقت الباحثة الألمانية الشهيرة آنا مارى شيمل على كتابها في التصوف عنوان: «الأبعاد الصوفية في الإسلام»[٩].

ويمكن القول بأن التصوف الإسلامي يمثل ظاهرة تاريخية هامة ممتدة في التاريخ الإسلامي، تجلت كحركة روحية عبر القرون، فقد بدأت هذه الحركة الرُّوحية فى القرن الأول الهجري مع حركة العباد والزهاد الأوائل من أمثال الحسن البصري (ت١١٠ه/٧٢٨م) وغيره،

٦- لمزيد من التفصيل حول آراء المستشرقين ونقدها، أنظر: عرفان عبد الحميد فتاح، نشأة الفلسفة الصوفية وتطورها، دار الجيل، بيروت، الطبعة الأولى، ١٩٩٣، ص٤٠-٥٠.

٧- محمد مصطفى حلمي، الحياة الروحية فى الإسلام، الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، القاهرة، ١٩٨٤، ط٢.

٨- أبو العلا عفيفي، التصوف: الثورة الروحية في الإسلام، القاهرة، ١٩٦٣.

٩- آنا مارى شيمل، الأبعاد الصوفية فى الإسلام وتاريخ التصوف، ترجمة محمد اسماعيل ورضا حامد قطب، منشورات الجمل، كولونيا، ألمانيا، ٢٠٠٦.

وتتكاثر أقول المتصوفة على الربط بين التصوف والكتاب والسنة، فبحسب ذو النون المصري: «من علامات المحبة لله عز وجل متابعة حبيب الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم في أخلاقه وأفعاله وأوامره وسننه»[٣]، ويشدد الجنيد على ذلك بقوله: «الطرق كلها مسدودة على الخلق إلا من اقتفى أثر الرسول عليه الصلاة والسلام»[٤].

ويؤكد معظم المستشرقين المتأخرين على الجذور الإسلامية للتصوف الإسلامي، كالمستشرق الفرنسى لويس ماسينيون في كتابه «دراسة فى مصادر القاموس التقني للتصوف الإسلامي»، ونيكلسون فى أبحاثه المتأخرة، وجون آرثر آربرى، وآنا مارى شيمل، وأليكسندر كنيش. إذ نلاحظ شبه إجماع لدى المستشرقين المُحدَثين على كون التصوف الإسلامي يتمتع بأصالة ظاهرة فى الدين الإسلامي، دون إنكار بعض التأثرات من مختلف الثقافات التي عاصرت التاريخ الإسلامي، وهو ما يُقرُّه أبو الوفا التفتازاني، فهو يتخذ موقفًا متوازنًا من قضية الأصالة والتأثر إذ يقول: «ولذلك فإن من الإنصاف العلمي القول بأن مذاهب الصوفية فى العلم ورياضاتهم العملية تُرَدُّ إلى مصدر إسلامي. إلا أنه بمرور الوقت وبحكم التقاء الأمم واحتكاك الحضارات تسرب إليها شيء من المؤثرات المسيحية أو غير المسيحية، فظن بعض المستشرقين خطأ أن الصوفية أخذوا أول ما أخذوا عن المسيحية»[٥]

أما الجيل الأول من المستشرقين، الذين ظهروا منذ القرن الثامن عشر حتى بداية القرن العشرين، فقد ذهبوا إلى القول بأن التصوف الإسلامى نشأ من مصادر أجنبية، في سياق تأثرهم بالمركزية الأوروبية، فعزاه بعضهم للأديان الهندو- آرية، أي من أصل هندى- فارسى، أمثال ثولوك، ودوزى، وبالمير هورتن، وهارتمان، وزانير، وغيرهم،، نظرا لوجود تشابه بين الفكرة الوحْدَوية الهندوسية عن الموجود الحقيقى الأسمى الأوحد وهو المبدأ المطلق للكل والمسمَّى عندهم بـ برَهمان، وفكرة بعض الصوفية من أصحاب مدرسة وحدة.

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٣- القشيري، عبد الكريم بن هوازن، الرسالة القشيرية في علم التصوف. تحقيق وإعداد: معروف زريق، وعلي عبد الحميد بلطه جي، ط٢، دار الجيل، بيروت، ١٩٩٠، ص٤٣٣.
٤- نفس المرجع السابق، ص٤٣٠.
٥- أبو الوفا الغنيمى التفتازاني، مدخل إلى التصوف الإسلامي، دار الثقافة للطباعة والنشر، القاهرة، ١٩٧٩، ص٢٩-٣٠.

أثيرت شبهات عديدة قديما وحديثا حول ينابيع نشأة التصوف الإسلامي وتأسيسه، والمصادر والجذور التي عملت على تبلوره تاريخيا، وإذا علمنا بأن التصوف الإسلامي يقوم على قاعدة الزهد كمقدمة للدخول في أفق العمل الصوفي نتبين الدور المؤسس للمصادر الإسلامية من القرآن والسنة في ظهوره وتطوره، إلا أن ذلك لا ينفي قاعدة التأثر والتأثير في مساراته واجتهاداته، إذ يحفل القرآن الكريم بآيات كثيرة تحض على الزهد في الدنيا وذمها، كما تحث على الترغيب بالآخرة ومدحها، بدوام الإخلاص والتقوى واجتناب الرياء والفسوق، فالطوسي يشدد على ضرورة تقييد التصوف بمتابعة كتاب الله عز وجل، والاقتداء بالرسول صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، والتخلق بأخلاق الصحابة والتابعين، والتأدب بآداب عباد الله الصالحين. [1]

ويشدد ابن خلدون (ت ٨٠٨ هـ)، على الصلة الوثيقة بين التصوف ومصدره الإسلامي، بقوله: «هذا العلم من العلوم الشرعية الحادثة في الملة. وأصله أن طريق هؤلاء القوم لم تزل عند سلف الأمة، وكبارها من الصحابة والتابعين ومن بعدهم، طريق الحق والهداية٠ وأصلها العكوف على العبادة، والانقطاع إلى الله تعالى، والإعراض عن زخرف الدنيا وزينتها، والزهد فيما يقبل عليه الجمهور من لذة ومال وجاه، والانفراد عن الخلق في الخلوة للعبادة٠ وكان ذلك عاماً في الصحابة والسلف، فلما فشا الإقبال على الدنيا في القرن الثاني وما بعده، وجنح الناس إلى مخاطبة الدنيا، اختص المقبلون على العبادة باسم الصوفية والمتصوفة»[2].

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١- الطوسي، أبو نصر السراج، اللمع. حققه وقدم له وخرج أحاديثه: د. عبد الحليم محمود، وطه عبد الباقي سرور، دار الكتب الحديثة، القاهرة، ١٩٦٠، ص٢١.

٢- ابن خلدون، المقدمة، تحقيق: درويش الجويدي، ط١، المكتبة العصرية، بيروت، ١٩٩٥، ص٥١٤.

ينابيع النشأة والتأسيس

لعل التحدي الأبرز الذي يواجه الطرق الصوفية في الأردن يتمثل بقدرتها على الموائمة بين التقليد والتحديث، فبعض هذه الطرق يصر على التمسك بتقاليدها الطقسية والاحتفالية المتوارثة، بينما عمدت أخرى على تبني نهجا أكثر تجديدا وانفتاحا على الحداثة فأنشأت مؤسسات علمية وتعليمية وإعلامية أسوة بالنموذج الصوفي التركي، إلا أنها لم تبلغ حد الدخول والمشاركة في الحياة السياسية من خلال تأسيس أحزاب خاصة كما حدث لنظيراتها في بلدان عربية وإسلامية عديدة.

وسوف نقوم في هذه الدراسة بالتعرف على الطرق والزوايا الصوفية المنتشرة في الأردن كالقادرية والرفاعية والشاذلية والخلوتية والنقشبندية والتيجانية وتفرعاتها، والكشف عن تاريخيتها وانتشارها وشيوخها، والتعريف بمعتقداتها وأصولها، ومدى قدرتها على التكيف والتجديد في سياقات التحديث التي طالت الدولة والمجتمع.

ولا يفوتني أن أشكر مشايخ الطرق الصوفية الذين لم يبخلوا علي بأوقاتهم، وتعاونوا باطلاعي على أسانيدهم وانشطتهم، والشكر الموصول للصديق العزيز الباحث وائل البتيري الذي ساهم بجهد كبير في إنجاز الدراسة، وكذلك الأخ العزيز الدكتور خالد الحايك، ومؤسسة فريدريش ايبرت ومكتبها في عمان التي دأبت على نشر سلسة من الأبحاث حول الحركات الإسلامية في الأردن.

والسياسي والجهادي المتنامية من جهة أخرى، إذ تعرضت لحملة تشويه واسعة واتهامات شنيعة حملتها أوزار الجهل والخرافة والبدعة والجمود والتخلف وموالاة الاستعمار، إلا أن الصوفية تمكنت من التكيف والمقاومة والتجديد، وبرهنت عن قدرتها على البقاء والصمود، وخالفت التوقعات الحداثية بزوالها واندثارها باعتبارها من مظاهر العالم التقليدي السحري والخيالي، فقد شهد العالم في أكثر البيئات والمجتمعات عقلانية وتلبسا بالتحديث والعلمنة عودة المقدس الديني فرديا وجماعيا، كرد فعل على طغيان حضارة التقنية وما أفرزته من قيم مادية وأنماط استهلاكية وفقدان المنظومات الرمزية المرتبطة بها القدرة على إضفاء المعنى على وجود الإنسان، وظهرت تيارات ما بعد حداثية أفسحت المجال للخيال والمعنى وبرهنت على قدرة الصوفية على تقديم إجابات على قيم النسبية والاسترقاقية والتشيئية في ظل العولمة.

ولم يكن الواقع العربي والإسلامي والأردني استثناءا في صعود الحركات الدينية، فقد ظهرت حركات الإسلام السياسي خلال عقد الثمانينيات من القرن المنصرم بقوة، وباتت تشكل خطرا على النظم السياسية الحاكمة، وفي هذا السياق عملت الدولة على دعم وتشجيع التدين الشعبي والصوفي في سياق الرهان السياسي والإيديولوجي لمواجهة هذه الحركات الصاعدة وفي مقدمتها جماعة الإخوان المسلمين والتيار السلفي الجهادي، وقد تبلور هذا الدعم من خلال طرح إنشاء مجلس أعلى للتصوف في الأردن يضم في إطاره جميع الطرق الصوفية، إلا أن هذه المحاولة لم تنجح لأسباب عديدة من أهمها الخلافات بين مشايخ الطرق والاختلاف على طبيعة دور المجلس ودوره ووظيفته ورئاسته وعلاقته بالدولة.

عملت الولايات المتحدة عقب هجمات الحادي عشر من أيلول / سبتمبر ٢٠٠١ في سياق سياسات «الحرب على الإرهاب» على محاولة استمالة وتبني التصوف الإسلامي، فقد كشفت الهجمات عن تورط أيديولوجية سلفية جهادية عنيفة، وقد تبنت دعم وتشجيع بناء «شبكات إسلام معتدل» تستند إلى محاولة تعميم نموذج الإسلام الصوفي التسامحي لمواجهة التطرف والعنف، إلا أن هذه السياسات أضرت بالتصوف والصوفية نسبيا وأفقدتها جانبا من جاذبيتها، وفي الأردن أدانت الطرق الصوفية الغلو والعنف والتطرف وتماهت مع نهج الدولة في التعامل مع مجمل القضايا الوطنية.

شهد الأردن كسائر مناطق العالم الإسلامي انتشارا واسعا للطرق والزوايا الصوفية، فقد سمحت حالة السيولة والانسياب إبان الحكم العثماني بقدوم واستقرار جماعات وعائلات تتوافر على اعتقادات وممارسات صوفية من أماكن مختلفة، وخصوصا من العراق والشام وفلسطين والأناضول، كالرفاعية والزعبية والعمرية والربابعة والمستريحية والملكاوية والصمادية والكيلانية والجعافرة وغيرها، ومع حلول القرن التاسع عشر ساد نمط التدين الشعبي المجتمع الأردني، في سياق التحولات التي طالت الدين الإسلامي بقراءاته المتعددة الظاهرية والتأويلية والعرفانية، وساهم تفكك الدولة العثمانية وانهيارها عقب دخول الحقبة الاستعمارية بإضعاف البنى التقليدية للمجتمع، ومع ظهور الدولة الوطنية كانت هذه الأبنية التقليدية قد قطعت شوطا بعيدا في مسار التفتيت بفعل سياسات التحديث.

إذ عمدت الدولة في الأردن منذ قيام الإمارة على يد الأمير عبدالله بن الحسين عام ١٩٢١م على تحييد المؤسسات التقليدية، وعلى الرغم من انتمائه إلى سلالة النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم فقد تبنى أيديولوجيا نهجا ليبراليا قوميا يقوم على مبادئ التحديث والعلمنة، وعملت الدولة على الاستئثار بسلطة التصرف بالدين وتحييد المؤسسة الدينية التقليدية من خلال تأسيس وزارة الأوقاف ومؤسسة الإفتاء ودائرة قاضي القضاة، فالإسلام على الرغم من اعتباره الدين الرسمي للدولة يعد أحد أبعاد الهوية الجماعية الأردنية وليس محورها المركزي، ولذلك شغلت معظم الوظائف الدينية الرسمية شخصيات ذات ميول صوفية معتدلة امتازت بالوسطية.

لم يشهد الأردن خلال مرحلة تأسيس الإمارة حركات إسلاميّة منظمة، وهيمنت الطرق الصوفية وأنماط التدين الشعبي الصوفي على المشهد الديني، فقد بدأت الحركات والجماعات الإسلامية بالظُّهور كفروع لجماعات نشأت خارج حدود المملكة، وشهدت مرحلة الاستقلال عام ١٩٤٦م، بداية تشكُّلها حيثٍ أعلن عن تأسيس جماعة الإخوان المسلمين في نفس العام، وفي عام ١٩٥٢م تم تأسيس «حزب التحرير»، وفي عام ١٩٦٤ تأسست جماعة «الدعوة والتّبليغ»، وهي جماعة تنتمي تاريخيا إلى المدرسة الصوفية في شبه القارة الهندية، وشهدت بداية الثمانينيات ولادةَ السَّلفية التَّقليدية، ومع مطلع التسعينيات ظهرت السّلفية الجهادية.

وبهذا واجهت الطرق الصوفية في الأردن ضغوطات وتحديات وصعوبات عميقة للحفاظ على هويتها ووجودها فرضتها السياسات التحديثية من جهة، ومنافسة حركات الإسلام الدعوي

مقدمة

لا ينفصل تاريخ الأردن الحضاري والثقافي والديني عن مسارات التشكل الفكري والإيديولوجي التاريخي للعالمين العربي والإسلامي، فقد تعاقبت عليه جملة الظروف والأسباب التي طالت المنطقة، وخضع تاريخيا لذات الاشتراطات والملابسات التي شكلت هويته الوطنية، ويعتبر التصوف أحد العناصر المكونة للهوية الأردنية باعتباره أحد التجليات الروحية للإسلام، فضلا عن كونه تيارا يسري في مفاصل سائر الأديان، وممارسة عملية طبعت ثنايا التجربة الإنسانية.

فقد ظهرت الصوفية منذ بواكير الإسلام الأولى كثورة روحية تسعى لإصلاح النفس وتهذيبها وتزكيتها وتخليتها من الرذائل وتحليتها بالفضائل ابتغاء الوصول إلى كمال الإيمان وبلوغ درجة الإحسان، من خلال الاشتغال بالآخرة، وهي كحركة دينية استندت في مشروعيتها على العامل الديني والمصادر الإسلامية التأسيسية من الكتاب الكريم والسنة النبوية الشريفة، والتي دعت في نصوصها ومقاصدها إلى الزهد في الدنيا وإخلاص العبودية لله؛ وتعود ملابسات نشأتها إلى أسباب أخرى سياسية واجتماعية وثقافية، فقد تبلورت تاريخيا مع ما شهدته دار الإسلام في مراحلها المبكرة من فوضى سياسية وفتن وحروب داخلية أفضت إلى قلق روحي ومظالم اجتماعية وتفاوت فاحش بين الناس عززت من تنمية روح الورع والزهد.

وإذا كان التصوف الإسلامي برز في بداياته في القرن السابع الميلادي كظاهرة فردية شخصية ذات طبيعة نخبوية؛ فقد تبلور تاريخيا كظاهرة اجتماعية منذ القرن الحادي عشر، واستقر تصوفا طرقيا شعبيا خلال القرن السابع عشر، إبان الدولة العثمانية التي استدخلته أيديولوجيا، فلم يكن ممكنا للصوفية ان تزدهر دون مساندة السلطة ورعايتها ولم تكن السلطة لتحافظ على استقرارها دون تأييد الصوفية، فقد حكمت معادلة «الولاء / الرعاية» العلاقة بين الطرفين، إلا أن هذه المعادلة لم تكن آلية مطردة تاريخيا فالسلوك السياسي للطرق الصوفية كان متأرجحا بين المعارضة والموالاة، وعلى الرغم من ذلك كله فإن الصوفية لم تتتلبس يوما بتقاليد النزاع والصراع على السلطة.

المحتويات

المملكة الأردنية الهاشمية
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حسن أبو هنيّة

كانون الأول ٢٠١١

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